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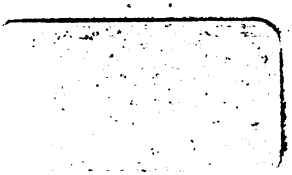

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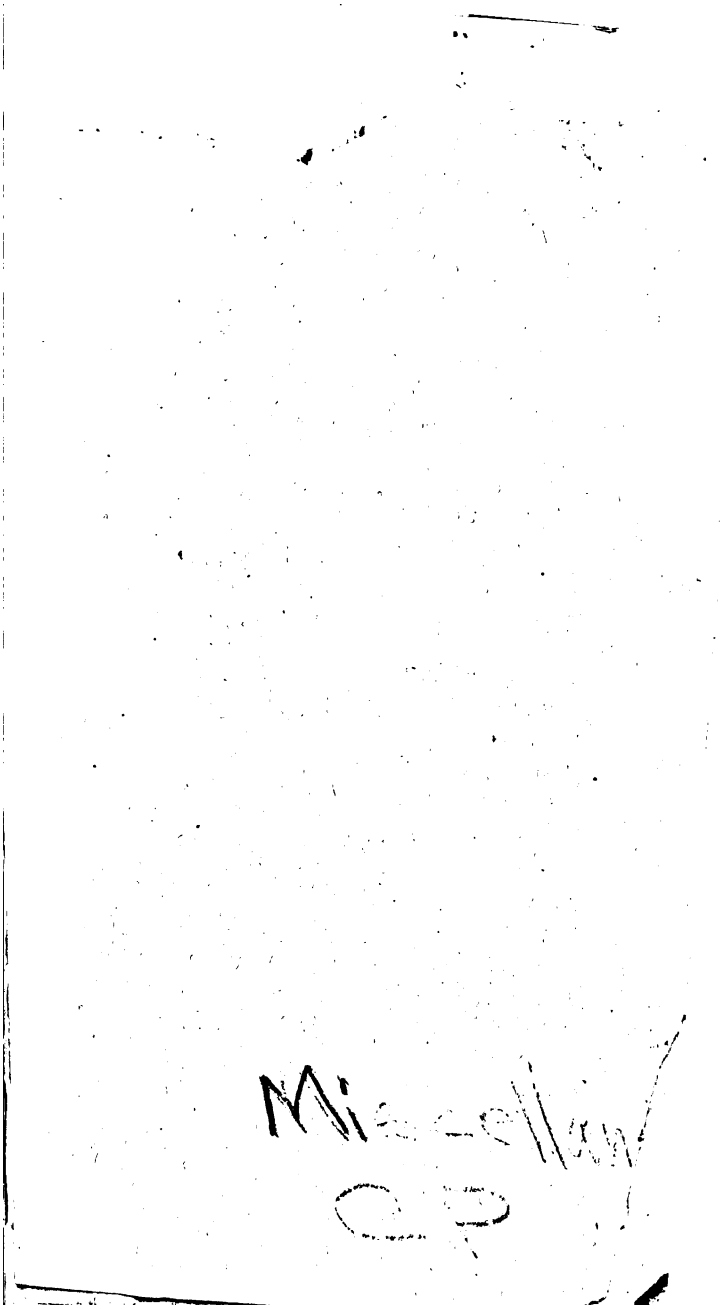

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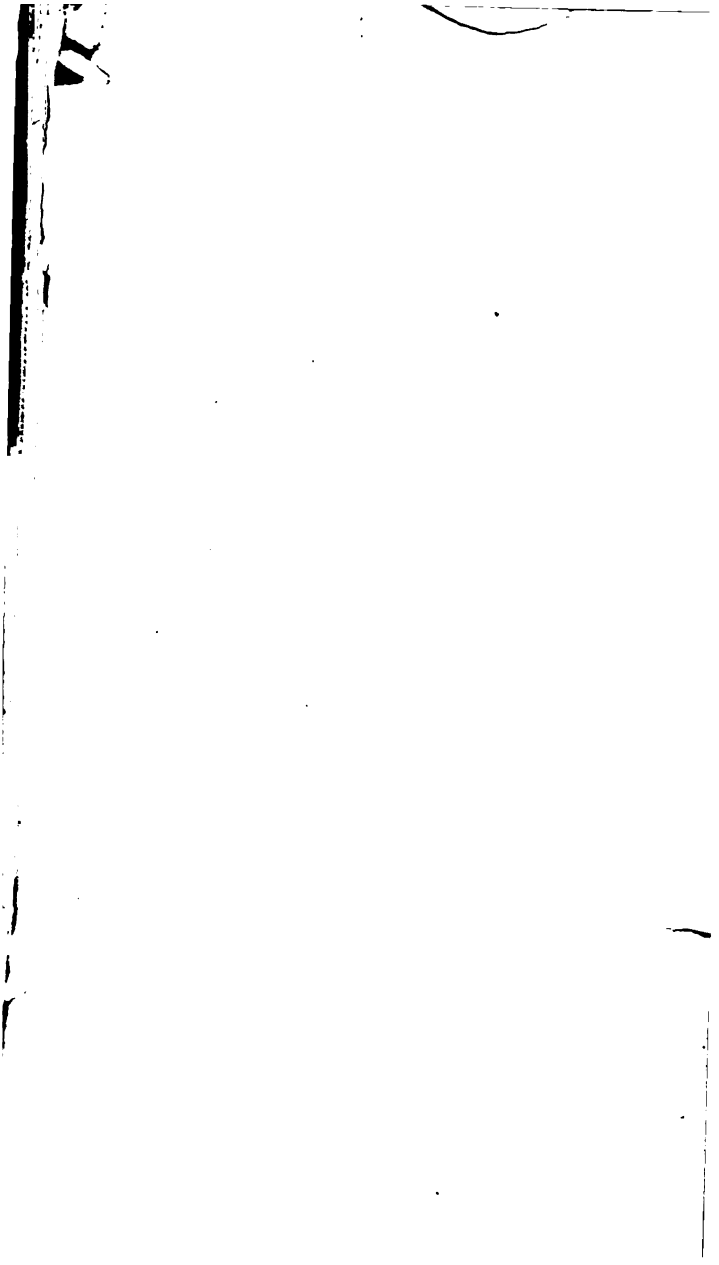

# Miscellanea Scotica.

A

# COLLECTION

OF

# TRACTS

RELATING TO THE

*History, Antiquities, Topography,*

AND

LITERATURE

OF

# SCOTLAND.

VOL. II.

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1818.

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OF

## VOLUME SECOND.

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II. Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda—Buchanan's Chamæleon.

III. Account of the Murthoure of King James I. of Scotland—Supplement to the Feuds and Conflicts of the Clans—Buchan's Description of St. Kilda.

# LIFE

OF

# JAMES SHARP,

## *Archbishop of St. Andrews.*

FIRST PRINTED IN MDCLXXVIII.

To which is now added,

## AN ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH,

*BY AN EYE-WITNESS.*

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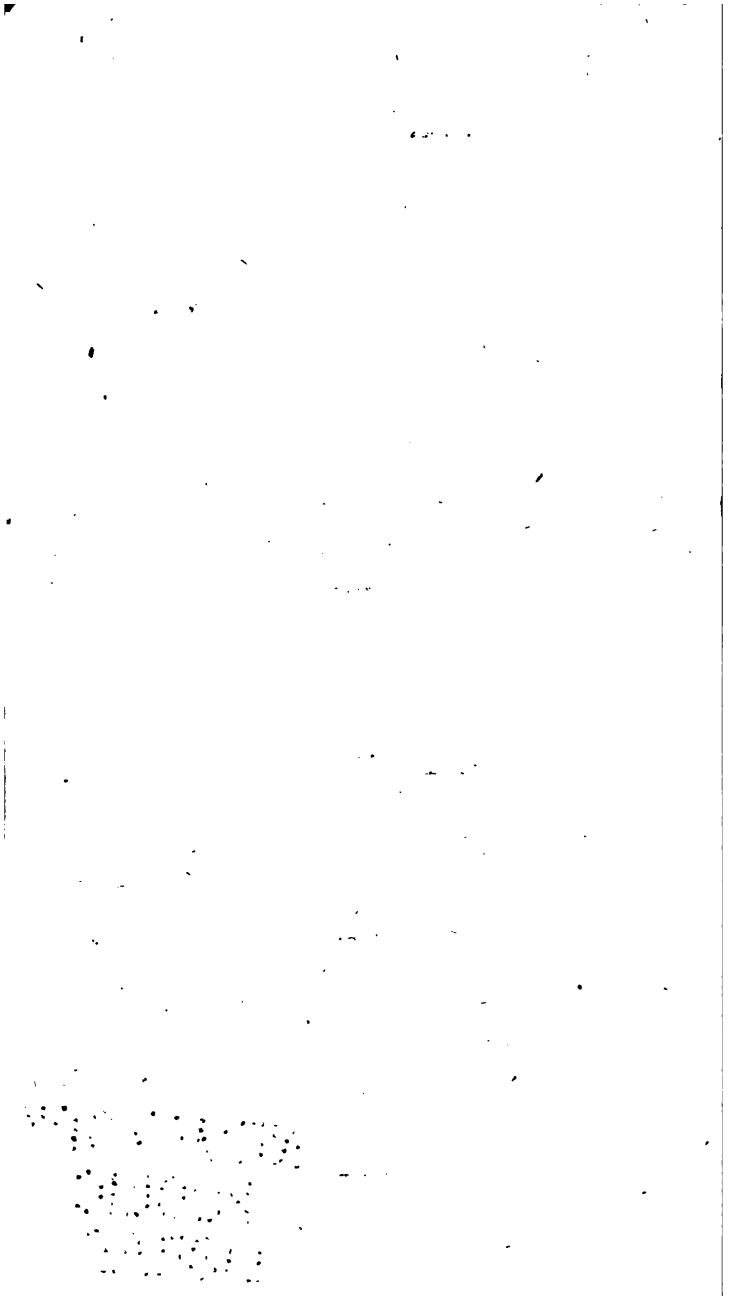

# THE EPISTLE

# DEDICATORY.

Mr. SHARP,

I THOUGHT I could not do any thing more pertinently, than to make this work as well objectively as it is already subjectively yours.

The subject matter treated of therein being your LIFE, it seemed very proper for me, by this Dedication, to present it to your view, that you might therein, as in a map, have a true representation of some of your innumerable actions, (for all could not be comprehended in such a breviary as this,) upon which it is much to be doubted, that you have never made a just reflection, or if you have, it has been but like the man spoken of by James, who beholding his natural face in a glass, goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was. And therefore that I might make the deeper impression both upon yourself and others, of what manner of man you were, and have always been, (being indeed another sort of a man than an honest man; which I am confident none

will attribute unto you, except your own wife; who if you be her honest man, I am sure you are to all others some other thing, which I need not name,) I have endeavoured to take off your disguise, and to expose you unto the sight of others in your true and native colours; and to illustrate that part of your Life that lay more hid and dark, wherein you acted another person than indeed you were, wearing still a rough garment to deceive: but it is like enough, that glass (how just soever it may be) will be called false by you, that gives a true reflection of your deformities: and although this be no multiplying or magnifying glass, that I hold up unto you, but such as represents the subject in colour, quantity, and proportion, every way just as it is, yet I suspect you will be as unwilling to look in thereunto, as if you were to see some ugly shape, that might affright you out of your wits. For I know nothing humane, that has a more terrible aspect, and should strike you with more horror, than yourself, and the actions of your own Life; which although but rudely drawn, (truth being more regarded than art in this relation,) yet I hope with such a resemblance of the portraiture unto the principal, after which it is drawn, that yourself cannot justly deny this extract to be an authentic, though black, record of many of your actions, which you thought had been buried in oblivion; which yet may live unto your perpetual infamy, after you are gone: except the black lines of your Life here recorded (unto which many moe may be added in a new edition of this work) be blotted out by tears of unfeigned repen-

tance; if there be yet a place of repentance left for such a persecuting Apostate.

But having written your Life without your leave, I have taken the boldness to publish it without your license, the want of which (I hope) will not make it the less acceptable to many, as the having thereof should make it the more suspect. But when I have seen your censure upon it, then I will know what to say further, not having yet come upon this subject to a *nill datur ultra.*

THE

# PREFACE

TO THE

# Reader.

READER,

ALTHOUGH that humane frailty and natural corruption renders all persons no less apt to be changed in the qualities of their minds, than altered in the colour and complexion of their bodies; which is the cause that oftentimes we find the same persons to have received very different and contrary characters in time, through the variableness and inconstancy of their nature; so that the *Quinquennium Neronis* has been as much proposed by some for imitation, as his future life has been for detestation; yet you shall find this man's life no chequered work, but all of one tenor, or rather one continued crime. A table wherein there is no mixture of whites with the blacks therein, except it be for *Sophisticatione*, in which art Mr. Sharp has employed his whole practice. But if the treachery,

turpitude, and cruelty of his whole actions, may give them a denomination according to their natures, notwithstanding of what varnishing may be used for giving another lustre; so that we think it will easily be discerned by all seeing persons, of what colour this man's actions are of; being so deeply engrained by the blackest tincture that hell could afford. And if the pravity of persons may receive its aggravations in measure and proportion answerable unto the excellency of the object unto which it is applied, certainly we must conclude them the worst of men that oppose the best of things. But what an adversary Mr. Sharp has been, and is yet unto Jesus Christ, his interest, work, and people, amongst us, the following History of his Life will in some part discover; although there is daily new discoveries made of this man's wickedness: so that it is not now secretly whispered, but loudly spoken, that his sister in law (whom he hath sent north to reside with his cousin Mr. Lesly) has born a child to him; and still did depone while she was under the pains of child-birth, that he was the father of it, and we believe, can be made out by persons, witnesses of good fame. But by such indications we may strongly conjecture, that there are *peccata incognita* in this man's life, that time will more fully bring to light. Yet what discoveries are made herein by the author's inquisition into the hidden things of this man's dishonesty, he is willing to appeal unto his own conscience for the truth thereof, (although it otherways be made out, which was feared,) so now, it may be, shall one day be as a thousand

witnesses against him. And if his own heart condemn him, how much more will God, who is greater than the heart, and knows all things. But having thus far prefaced, &c.

THE

# LIFE AND DEATH

OF

# MR. JAMES SHARP,

ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, &c.

MR. JAMES SHARP was born in Bamff, in the North of Scotland: and as the greatness of his fortune, in respect of his ill acquiring thereof, does not confer any honour on the place of his birth, so we shall not derive any infamy upon it on this ground, seeing the best soils may bring forth the most noisome weeds: yet it may be doubted, if in any age, were two men more monstrously wicked, than this place hath brought forth: who although of various and far different fortunes, the one continuing low, base, and obscure, the other becoming high, great, and rich; yet in respect of the infamy of their lives, and of the trade they constantly follow (although not with alike success) of lying, treachery, and deceiving, they may justly be compared together, and make such a parallel, in respect of their bad qualities, that it may easily be.

demonstrate without Astrologic art, that as the place of their nativity was one, so they were born under one and the same malevolent planet; or rather were given of God for a curse, and not for a blessing to their country. Yet Mr. Patrick Darg (for this is the true name of that other person, who is better known by his character than name, having changed this as oft as he had cheating tricks to play; assuming always that name when he had a mind to deceive, and ordinarly the person of an outed minister) hath made it as much his gain to personate non-conformists, as the other (the history of whose life we intend to follow) make it now his glory to persecute them, of whom he hath had the double gain, the one from them, for discharging that trust reposed in him; the other from others, for betraying of that trust.

But to give life to this history: it were fit we knew the parents who gave life to this man, (who hath given his mother-church so deadly a wound,) who if in this they may be judged negatively miserable, that when their sons came to honour, they knew it not, being deprived by death of that participation they might have had therein; yet they may be thought happy, in that they shall not be witnesses of his wrack and ruin, when he is brought low, they shall not perceive it of him; and that his tragical end shall as little affect them, as his transcendent dignities do. But as the name and memory of William Sharp and Isobel Lealy (which are the names of the parents of this prelate) should have died with them, if they had not been mentioned in the life of this their wicked son; so we

think the history of his life shall give little honour to their memory. Of whom, only it can be said, that they were the means to bring into the world a man abhorred of God; and a man, that when we call him perjured apostate, a traitor to Christ and his church, and a persecutor thereof, or what else may be said of him, we do not exhaust all his wickedness: so that God only can search out his wickedness, till he find none, and punish him condignly for the same.

But as for his father William Sharp, we shall give this short account of him, that he was the son of a piper, who was only famous for his skill in that spring, called Cossie. But although the grandfather had been less skilful in his calling, (of which we find little use, but to induce wantonness and obscenity,) and although his springs had given no price, yet we think it had been more for the advantage of the church, at least, it should have received less detriment, if the grandchild had been bound his apprentice, and had been rather a piper than a prelate; but we might well have wanted both the one and the other; pipers and prelates agree well together for the service of their belly. God cannot be enough promoted without such instruments as blow up their lust; but if the pipe and bags be yet in the prelate's possession, (which belongs to him as eldest son to his father, and so heir by progress to his grandfather,) it is like he may now have use for them, to gift them to some landart church, to save the expenses of a pair of organs, which may do well enough for our rude people, who can sing as well to the one as

to the other. And if instrumental music in the service of God be *juris Divini*, (as the prelates highly assert,) it cannot be thought that any people should be so phanatick, as to admit the organs in divine service, and refuse the bagpipe, especially it being the prelate's gift, and all the heirship goods that he had of his grandfather, which he would so freely bestow upon the church.

But William Sharp finding more wind than money in his father's bags, after his death he resolves not to seek his livelihood by so airy an employment, as that which his father had followed, observing, that although he had the art to make others merry, yet he himself was oftentimes sad; and that the lightness of his purse made his heart heavy, finding the proverb verified in him, 'That what comes by the wind goes by the water;' for what he wan by his pipes he pished at the walls. But his son William resolves to put up his pipes, and betake himself to some other trade, as his fortune should guide him, which he went abroad to seek, finding many discouragements in following his father's calling; not only in that he was naturally mistuned, and had not learned his father's art, but likewise because of the poverty and contempt that follows men of that employment: so that falling into the service of my Lord Finlater, where at first he was admitted in the quality of a boy, his soupleness so qualifies him for running, that he pleases his master well: and it is to be observed, that it is the soupleness as well in the father, as the son, that is the ground of their first promotion, but with this difference, that what was

a virtue in the father is a vice in the son. But his master finding some towardliness in him, that made him capable of some better employment, employs him in his affairs; and for that end had bred him in letters, who although he made such proficiency therein, as that he attained to the degree of a Master of Arts, yet his learning did not promote him to any higher degree, than that of a common clark, (but it had been good his son had been no greater clark; and better for the church he had never known a letter, for then he had not been capable to have done such mischief therein, as we see presently discovered,) but growing weary of my Lord's service, finding more pain than gain therein, and thinking he was now able to do for himself, he discharges himself thereof, and procures himself to be a landart Notar; there he continues in that employment for a while, and marries the above named Isobel Lesly, who although a person somewhat above his rank, yet in respect of the employment or calling he now followed, which made him to be looked upon as a petty lawyer, (notars in that country so remote from the Session, serving instead of better lawyers,) so that what was defective as to his quality, was supplied by his industry and desert, as if thereby he was rendered her equal and match. And although she was in quality a gentlewoman, yet she was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and to learn the art of brewing; which qualified her for to set up in Dun, which proved such a subsidiary help for maintenance of the family, as that William's pens (although he was made clark of Bamff, by the moyen of his old mas-

ter) should never have winged his son's, to have raised them out of the dust, if they had not been feathered out of Isobel's jegg purse, which by her change maintained her sons at schools, she keeping it until the day of her death.

Although we cannot condescend upon the precise time of the birth of their eldest son James, yet we may certainly conclude that it hath been very fatal unto the church; for amongst all the sons whom she hath brought forth, there is none in any age that did prove so unnatural, so treacherous, and cruel unto her as he; so that the ambition of Diotrephes, the covetousness of Demas, the treachery of Judas, and the apostacy of Julian, does all meet in him; and we know not if ever there was any man that had so many virtues, as this man has vices. But the following history of his life will be the best commentar upon this text. For after he had past the grammar, having profited above his equals, assiduity helping his ingine to make him a scholar, (but he learned sooner to be a scholar than to be a Christian,) for even in his younger years, the first thing that discovered itself in him was pride, which made him intolerable to his school-fellows, and gave some indication of what he should afterwards prove: but his pride joined with envy and other vices, that usually accompany it, did so grow with him, and was nourished by him, that he seemed altogether to be transformed into the image of Satan that proud spirit; so that finding God resist his pride, he addicted himself unto his service, whose image he bore, for promoting of his proud designs against

God and his church. But proceeding in his studies, he was sent to the College of Aberdeen, a very corrupt nursery at that time, being but a little before the fall of Prelacy in this church, Satan as it were thrusting forward this youth in his studies, and accomplishing him by drinking at these poisoned fountains, for that design he was afterwards to employ him in, viz. the restoring of this cursed Prelacy again. But about the year 1638, the change came that overthrew the Romish hierarchy in this church, and dashed all the designs of this proud and perverse youth for church promotion at home; but his ambition being still restless, notwithstanding of all that he might have known of God, by the judgments he saw executed on prelates and malignants of that time, against whom the Lord did appear so signally, it led him abroad, thinking to obtain some church preferment in England, (for prelacy was not yet fallen there,) but while he was there, gaping for some fat benefice, he found he gaped for nought; for all his hopes were cut off by the fall of Prelacy likewise there; so that now he resolves to accommodate himself to the times, insinuating himself upon that great Mr. Henderson, who was then in England, commissioner for the Church of Scotland. He put on such a disguise, that good men could not see that venom of avarice and ambition that lay hid under it: for perceiving in him sharpness of wit, with an affected gravity and modesty; and withal, having declared to him his judgment against Prelacy, and professing himself to be presbyterian, he easily obtained a recommendation from Mr. Henderson, for

a Regent's place in the University of St. Andrews. Here indeed he began to change his shape, and shape his course according to the compass of the times; seeing so many prelates' mitres and cornered caps, as so many shipwracks lying in his way to that promotion he was aspiring unto: yet it is not to be doubted, if the turning of his coat might yet serve him a pinch, but he would yet use it; and make use of religion as well to keep, as to acquire by it. But shall Mr. Henderson (whose zeal and faithfulness to Christ and his church was such, that he was as careful to keep out, as cast out that prelatic spirit in this church, against which he had been wrestling for so many years, and whom the Lord had made so great an instrument to overthrow it) bring in this man into the University of St. Andrews by his recommendation? who after he is gone, shall prove the ruin of the CHURCH of SCOTLAND, the restorer of Prelacy again therein; and seat himself archbishop of this same place. But we cannot imagine a thing more contrary to the designs of this worthy man, than to have promoted a man that should have made himself a transgressor, by building the things that God had destroyed amongst us. Although eventually it hath fallen out otherways, yet Mr. Henderson recommended only a man whom he judged apt to instruct youth in respect of his learning, and professed principles, and not such an one as indeed he was. This being latent and the other only apparent, and Mr. Henderson saw but as a man who looks only upon the outward appearance, and sees not into the heart, which if he could have disco-

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...mendatory letters to the Rector of the ...sity, who in regard of the authority that Mr. ...derson had then in the church, could not but ...ave much weight; yet he was only admitted to a comparative trial, according to the laws of the University, which were then more impartially observed, and was appointed to dispute with Mr. John Sinclair for the place: but after dispute, the place was decided in Mr. Sharp's favours. And, however he acquitted himself in that dispute, we can give no other censure upon that decision, but that they preferred a knave to an honest man, which in a little time we shall see more palpably discovered.

But, notwithstanding of that preference, Mr. Sinclair was found to have deserved so well by that dispute, that the next vacant place was promised to him, being otherways so well qualified, in respect of his piety, that he was found every way fit for the training up of youth. But in a short time thereafter, the famous Mr. James Guthrie, who was then a Regent in St. Andrew's College, being called to the ministry, demitted in Mr. Sinclair's favours, to whom having succeeded, he became colleague to Mr. Sharp, who was likewise a Regent in this same college. But presently that

a Regent's place in the University not brook an equal, nor
Here indeed he began (for acquaintance with any person standing
shape his course with himself) did begin to break
times; run to a very scandalous act; for being proud
ner that preference which he supposed he had gotten
of Mr. Sinclair, with respect to his merits, he resolved to let him know he was as much his superior in strength of body as of mind, and therefore, on a Lord's Day, at the college table, in the presence of the Principal and the rest of the Regents, after he had spoken very injuriously to Mr. Sinclair, he shamefully beat him, which Mr. Sinclair received with very much Christian patience: but the more of a Christian that was seen in the one, the less of a man and the more of a devil was seen in the behaviour of the other; for Mr. Sinclair's meekness did much increase the other's rage, until at length the Principal was forced to interpose his authority, to compose that turbulent spirit and fury of Mr. Sharp. O! what a brave example was this unto the youth, (whose passions commonly are stronger and reason weak,) to see their master carried away with much unbridled passion, and not so much master of himself, as that either the regard of the Lord's Day, which he hereby so highly profaned, or the respect to his office, which he thereby exposed utterly to contempt, or the fear of the bad example he gave unto his scholars, (who oftentimes are better taught by example than precept, especially in what relates to manners,) could keep within the bounds of modesty and sobriety.

But fair weather beginning to break up in the distempered mind of that man, which had been so

overclouded with passion, rage giving place to reason, he begins to reflect on what he had done; and finds, that striking of his colleague will import deposition from his office, according to the laws of the University: so that the fear of the loss of his place, rather than grief for the foulness of his fault, does so afflict him, that he seems to be as much tormented inwardly with this passion of fear, as he was transported outwardly with that of fury; so that his pride now striking sail to his profit, he resolves to apply himself to the party wronged, and crave his pardon; whom he found as ready to forgive, as he was patient in bearing a wrong. But the impunity of such an exorbitancy seeming dangerous as to the preparative, and bad as to the example, both with respect to masters and scholars; to secure himself therefore against the censure and punishment due to such an offence and scandal, he acts now the part of the penitent so sincerely, that he seems to be as severe in accusing and judging himself for this fact, as his greatest enemies could be.

But he sits not here, but pretends a great exercise of conscience; that although he had procured the pardon of his offence from man, yet he could have no quiet until he had obtained his peace from God. And now he hath many doubts and cases relating to his spiritual estate to be resolved, and was frequently with Mr. Blair, for resolution of them, (a wise soul-physician indeed,) yet the hypocrisy of this man was so subtilely laid, that at that time he could not find it out; but the more he appeared to be dejected in himself, the higher it raised his estimation with others, which was that

he designed, thereby thinking to shelter himself under this repute against another scandal, which he feared should have broken out upon him at that time to his utter ruin; for Isobel Lindsay had sent him word, that she was with child to him, and desired his advice and assistance how she should order herself as to the place of her lying-in, so as it might be best concealed. This put him to some disorder in his thoughts; yet nothing pleased him so well, as that she was willing to conceal what might tend to both their shames, and to the ruin of his fortune, which he was but now repairing by such deep dissimulation as you have heard, after such a breach as he had made therein by his inordinate passion.

But to give more light to this history, we must go a little back, and give an account of the occasion of his first familiarity with this woman. When Mr. Sharp came first to St. Andrews, in order to obtaining of the Regent's place, he took up his lodging in John Allan's house, who kept a public change there at that time, and stayed in that house some time before, and all the time he was upon his trial for that place; yet he was more conversant in the wine-cellar (notwithstanding he was to undergo a public dispute for the place) with John Allan's taverner, who ran wine, (who was this Isobel Lindsay, his wife's sister,) than in his study; studying now more the art of love, than ever he had done that of logic; being then more ambitious to have a seat in her affections, than to be seated in the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, (where now he displays so much of splendour,) so passionately did he love, or rather lust after that woman, that now

he lays close siege to her chastity, which as yet he finds impregnable: who although she was content to become his wife, yet she refused to be his whore; abhorring as much his inordinate lust, as she was willing to entertain his honest love. So that he resolves to storm the wall where he found it weakest, and to use that fallacy by which so many maids have lost their honour; and promising to make her his wife, if she will satisfy his unlawful desires.

Thus, this poor maid, by the falsehood of this man, is induced to commit folly with him; but she shall have cause enough to repent of what she has done, for she shall find him no less unnatural and cruel, than he was false and treacherous. But to return from whence we have a little digressed. Mr. Sharp considering in what a ticklish condition he now stood, seeing his honour, fame, and place, with his whole fortune, did depend upon the right management of this affair with Isobel Lindsay, and the close conveyance thereof: he resolves, therefore, speedily to go to her, and finding her dampish and sad, he labours to cherish her, and renews again his promise of marriage to her, confirming it with many oaths, yet restricting it with this condition, that she disclose nothing of their unlawful converse together; which she cheerfully undertakes, being erected with the hopes of marriage, which he promised to accomplish in some short time after she was delivered.

Thus, having secured her secrecy by making that her interest to be so, unto which he doubted not but she should be true, yet he resolves he would not now disclose that wickedness unto her which he had a mind to perpetrate, the horror of which fact

he feared might so affright her conscience, which was not yet so far past feeling, that she should give her consent thereunto, seeing it did as much repugn unto nature as grace. Therefore, he advises her to pretend some other sickness, and to retire into her chamber a month before the time, into which none should have access but himself and her sister: for it was necessary some woman should be put upon this secret, and none was thought so fit as her own sister. Poor soul! she knowing nothing of his design, was willing to be disposed of as he thought fit. So when the time of her birth came, although there were no assistant but her own sister, yet she was safely delivered of a pleasant child; the pleasure of which she enjoyed but a very little time; for this cruel man, or rather unnatural beast, casting off all humanity, as well as fear of God, resolves now to commit that nefarious act which he had long premeditated. Getting notice that she was safely brought-to-bed, it was a great surprisal to him, hoping she might have died in the birth, considering how small assistance she had therein, than which he thought nothing could have fallen out more happily unto him, resolving the child should not long survive the mother; thinking to bury in their graves all memory of his atrocious crimes. But although he despatched the child, as we shall hear, yet the woman shall live, and have her conscience so awakened by God, that when he is in his greatest grandeur, she shall not fear to disclose his villany to his face, when he is preaching before the whole congregation. But notwithstanding of what you have heard, he comes in unto her with the voice of Jacob,

gratulating her happy delivery, (although nothing did so much afflict him,) yet we shall find him have hands more rough, and a heart more cruel than Esau. And although his words were smoother than butter, yet murder was in his heart. And now having used his utmost art of dissimulation with her, pretending the tender affection of a loving husband, and showing all care to administer unto her whatever her condition required, he suggests unto her, that this child (through her hard labour) was so weak, that its life would be but languishing, and that it would be rather an act of mercy than cruelty to the child, to rid it out of the world, and to shorten its miseries therein; and, withal, there was no other way to secure his fortune (wherein her happiness did now stand, who was to be his future wife,) than by taking away the life of this child, which would be a living witness of their shame, and might some time or other bring such a scandal upon him, for which he might be deposed from his office, and his name and fame utterly ruined as to the future, so as he might not be in a condition to marry, in respect of the want of a livelihood. O! what of the serpent is here! What wicked and subtle suggestions are these which the devilish man useth with this woman! Yet there might have been seen a strange reluctancy of weak nature in this woman, against the taking away of the life of her child, who not having the advantageous assistance of grace, made her at length to succumb under this temptation; the strength of which lay here, that she must either be deprived of this weak child, or of him, who could now bring her into a condition

above her estate, and repair her lost honour by making her his wife, whom he had used before as his concubine. So that the contest here being but betwixt nature and nature, corrupt nature and sinless nature, (we mean her natural love to her child,) corrupt nature at length prevailing, she is now determined to be a consenter, though not an actor in this bloody tragedy, which was all the wicked man required. So that he becomes now his own child's butcher; and oh! grief to think it! he takes his napkin and strangles this innocent babe, and buries it under the hearth-stones, where probably its bones may yet be found. But now this wretch triumphs in what he hath done, applauding his own art and good success, in thinking, that the security he had before this of her secrecy depended upon his own promises of marriage that he had made unto her, which when he should break, it would expose him to the danger of her clamorous tongue. But now, seeing by her own consent he had made her a copartner with him in his crime, he thought the security of her own life would assure his, and oblige her to secrecy; not finding himself obliged by that promise of marriage he had made unto her, further than it might serve his interest. So that he now resolves to cast her at his heels, prosecuting her with as much contempt as before he had followed her with affection, or rather with beastly lust; so that the hatred wherewith he hated her, was greater than the love wherewith he loved her. But God laughs at him, who, as he is a witness to his wickedness, shall in due time discover it, and attack him with the guilt of this horrid crime of murder, when

he shall think himself securest for such a crime, and farthest above the suspicion thereof.

But Mr. Sharp (notwithstanding of his guilty conscience, which now must have been exceedingly deadened, being seared with a hot iron, if he had nothing of the horror of this fact upon it, which made him criminal before God) carried so before men, as if the tears of his late repentance had proceeded from unfeigned sorrow for his sin in striking Mr. Sinclair, and should have brought forth the fruits of a new life. But his repentance being only artificial, and no ways genuine and natural, as flowing from any work of God upon his heart, so its fruits were answerable thereunto; and had a show and appearance, but no truth nor reality in them. And although this man was at best but a whited wall and painted sepulchre, being inwardly full of rottenness, yet his estimation grew not only in the University, but with our best ministers, whom he still much frequented with his cases of conscience, that he might appear to be the more serious Christian. Yet, it is not to be doubted but he could have answered all his own cases himself, which he was seeking resolution in from others, as being only notional, proceeding from his head and not from his heart; which was industriously done of him, that he might induce a good opinion of his piety, of which he affected the name, for the advantage he was to make of it, although he hated the thing (those times giving as much advantage to piety, as these we now live in gives to profanity). But that he might the more ingratiate himself in the favour of the times, there is none appears more zealous for

the Covenant than he; who not only very freely takes it himself, but commends it unto his scholars (to whom it was administered at their laureation) not only as lawful, but as a very necessary duty, and the surest defence religion could have. So that now the fame of this man's learning and supposed piety brings him many scholars, whereof not a few were of the best quality, and of these who are called *Primores*, who, when he had gotten any such, was observed to claw his arm and fidge for fainness—so itching a desire he had always for money; which, while he coveted after, made himself err from the faith, and shall pierce him through with many sorrows.

And now thinking he stood firm in the good esteem of the best discerning ministers among us, because that holy Mr. Rutherfoord himself, when he came from England, hearing from others what a work had been upon the heart of this man, (Mr. Sharp coming in the next day to see him after he was come home,) he embraced him, and said, "he saw that out of the most rough and knotty timber Christ could make a vessel of mercy:" yet, after he was acquainted with him, he was the first that found him out, and professed he never liked that work he was under, finding it but false and feigned. Yet this discovery which Mr. Rutherfoord made of him did no ways shake his reputation with others of his brethren, so fatally were they deceived by him; only it procured Mr. Sharp's mortal hatred, which persecuted this godly man even unto his grave, as we shall afterwards hear.

But he resolves now to improve this air of favour

that blew upon him from so many airths, for his promotion to a kirk. Growing weary of the college, having no other authority there but what the laws gave him, nor other rule but what he had over boys, and, aspiring to a higher jurisdiction, finding that in the station he was in he could not so well promote his ambitious designs, he procures a presentation from my Lord Crawford (by the moyan of Mr. James Bruce, minister at Kingsbarns,) to the kirk of Craile, which was then vacant, and had a great and good stipend. This man resolving to feed himself and not the flock, was aye looking out for the fattest benefice, which, having secured, he thought there was no difficulty to obtain the office, his gifts and reputation he stood in amongst the ministry being sufficient to carry him through his trials, which he passed with some commendation, and so was ordained minister in that place. Although there were some of the ministers of that presbytery who seriously repented that they should so suddenly have laid hands on this man, whom they afterwards found to be a wolf in sheep's clothing. Yet the Covenant being administered to him at his admission to the kirk, he took it very freely, this being the second time he had taken it, but how he kept it we shall hear. He was not long in the ministry when, for some discord, Mr. James Bruce, his neighbour minister, who was a very honest man, did discover him; and affirmed to many, that Mr. Sharp was not half a year a minister in Craile, till he found him to be covetous and given to lying: and hath oftentimes said, that it was the thing he repented most, of any thing he had done all his life, that he

should have procured that presentation unto him. But the kirk of Craile having a great landwart parish, and always before this two ministers; for Mr. Arthur Mortoun, who was his predecessor in this kirk, although he was a man of great abilities, yet he found the charge so great that he would not enter there except he got a colleague; being willing to give a part of his own stipend to make up a maintenance for another minister; respecting more the edification of the church than his own emolument, as became a true pastor of Jesus Christ, which throughout the whole course of his ministry he approved himself to be. But this man coming to this place, while it was altogether vacant as to both their ministers, (the one being removed by death, the other by transportation,) having gotten himself presented to the whole legal maintenance, he resolved they should rather want another minister, than he would give any part of this his stipend for his maintenance; thinking that less could serve them in spirituals than could do him in temporals. And, indeed, the appetite of that people was no more blunt and dead as to the one, than he was eager and keen after the other. And although they were all served of him, who was so far from serving the place of two ministers, that he discharged not the duty of one, being found to be an idol and idle shepherd, who had no care to discharge any part of the duty of a faithful pastor amongst that people, yet there was little complaint heard among them, so great a plague was this man unto them (which the abuse of the gospel, they had heard from that faithful servant of Christ, Mr.

Arthur Mortoun,) might have procured; yet the presbytery taking notice of the greatness of that charge, did enjoin Mr. Sharp to represent to the magistrates of that place the greatness of the burden he was under, and what necessity there was of one to take part of the ministry with him, which he was not able to discharge alone; and to press them to give that part of the stipend which they had always been in use to give unto the second minister, which, with what he was willing to give out of his own stipend, (of which he had more than a competency,) might make a sufficient competency for another minister. He having expressed as much sense of the necessity of that people as they could desire,—and willing to give all encouragement to another minister in that place, they doubted not but he would deal effectually therein. But they might have found themselves deceived, if they had looked narrowly into his actions, for this man dealt deceitfully in that matter as he did in all other things; for he made the presbytery believe, that it stuck only at the town, who were not willing to give any maintenance to another minister, that there was nothing done therein; whereas he never dealt effectually with them for that end, but so, as they understood well, he cared more for his own belly than for their souls; and that he was as unwilling that another minister should come in there, as if he were to come over his belly. But his respect was grown so great amongst them at that time (especially with Mr. Wood, with whom he contracted a most entire friendship, that was not broken off till near the time he was coming down Archbishop of St. Andrew's,)

that he easily satisfied them: Only Mr. Rutherfoord, having found out the unsoundness of this man before, did suspect his double-dealing in this matter, and therefore still urged the presbytery might appoint some to deal with the magistrates of that place, for settling a maintenance to another minister there; which had no other effect but the further exasperating of this wicked man against him; seeking, ever after this, to bear down Mr. Rutherfoord's authority in the presbytery, who never yet used it for any other end but for promoting of his master's interest.

But Mr. Sharp having, by his subtile and false dealing, secured himself against a colleague, affecting always, in every station he was in, a sole power; being as unwilling that another in that place should be a sharer with him in an equality of power as maintenance, satisfying thereby no less his ambition than covetousness, we shall now find him casting off all care of that flock.

Wanting these reproofs of his laziness, that the diligence of a faithful colleague might have given him, he doth in a great part slight the lecture, which although he had not so much power then as to prohibit, yet he did so practise it as did signify his very small regard thereunto. And, whether it be that the expounding of scripture by way of lecturing may increase too much knowledge among the people, (which the prelates as well as the papists labour by all means to bear down, as not consistent with the interest of their kingdom, which cannot subsist in the light, and whose authority is greatest among the ignorant and profane,) that this prelatic

spirit carries such enmity against the ordinance of God, we shall not further search into it, but he is as infrequent in preaching as if he were already a bishop. The people of Craile used to say, that he got a chalder of victual for every preaching he made in the year, which yet might have been bought at a far cheaper rate, for he had a correspondent at London who sent him the newest printed sermons, which before they were common he used to preach; for other parts of his ministry, he thought himself above them, for he was as great a stranger to the sick, afflicted, and poor, as he was frequent with them of better quality, who could have fed his belly, and whose respect he sought only by assentation, and not by a ministerial deportment that respected their edification.

But Mr. Sharp finding as yet such strength and harmony in the church, that he could not promote his wicked designs to the ruin thereof; for although there were yet still a corrupt ministry therein, yet these not having the favour of the civil authority, which as yet countenanced an honest ministry, he did not think it his interest as yet to join himself with them, who could not by themselves advance their corrupt designs, (the sounder part of the ministry not being as yet divided, which might give advantage to this malignant party in the church to join themselves to one of the parts of the division, as they afterwards did; that they might suppress the other, and thereby so strengthen themselves as to ruin both,) he resolves to lay his designs more subtilely, and found them in the estimation of the most eminent of our

ministers, for zeal and faithfulness to the interest of Christ: that having either wrought or found division among them, he might by their authority be the better able to foment it, and work out his own ends thereby; which he shall find in a short time, although not so soon as he expected: for he thought nothing could have fallen out more opportunely for his designs, than the engagement, commonly called *The unlawful Engagement*, which was in the year 1648. Although he shall not find it produce that effect which he desired: for our parliament raising an army for the invasion of England, endeavoured by all means to have carried the church with them therein, which they desired not so much from any veneration they had unto the church, as from a politic design; fearing, that in respect of the influence that the ministers had then upon the people, that if they got not their concurrence along with them, it might by that means be utterly crost and broken; which fell out accordingly. So that, the more effectually to induce the compliance of our ministers with that engagement, our parliament declares that they would prosecute the ends of the Covenant therein: which might indeed have shaken the stedfastness of some that were godly and true unto the Covenant, and would no doubt have carried the whole corrupt ministry along with them, (who sought but a pretence to carry on their designs,) had not the zeal and faithfulness of some others, especially Mr. George Gillespie, interposed; not only for the establishing of their brethren, who were wavering in that matter, but for the fixing of them into a

thorough opposition unto that engagement; which notwithstanding of what was pretended as to the grounds thereof, yet it being carried on by these who were no true friends to the Covenant, and by some who were still in opposition thereunto; and no satisfying security given unto religion, the whole church was determined against it; the corrupt party therein not daring to appear till they saw what success it would have. But the engagement being broken, and no division apparent in our church, Mr. Sharp (not finding the time as yet fit to serve his ends) resolves to serve the times with a more strict observance, knowing that the more he advanced his reputation amongst the more zealous of the ministry, he should be the better able to work his designs when the time should serve him. So that there is none now more severe in exacting that repentance, which was enjoined by the church, from the engagers, and these that had compliance with them, than he, exaggerating the sin to the utmost, as implying perjury, and importing the carrying on of a design to the utter ruin of religion, whereby they were become so scandalous, as that they were not capable of church communion, until by their repentance declared before the whole congregation they had purged it; and he is so impartial therein, that he causes persons of the best quality in his parish, to make their repentance publicly, but for a very small compliance with that engagement; desiring to have it thought, that malignancy was such a dangerous evil and leaven unto the church, that the utmost zeal of ministers might well come short,

but could not overreach itself in purging of it out. And yet this man had the confidence to say to a person of honour, within these few years, That he blest God he was always thought a malignant; to whom it was replied by the same person, That as that was not a matter whereof he ought to glory, so it was false which he said: for I could get him the man by the hand who would aver it in his face, that he was the first man who had confirmed him in the way of Independency, and that was Provost Jaffrey, who has since died a quaker. And now the public acknowledgment of sins comes out, (in which were comprehended the sins of apostacy and covenant breaking, whereof it was judged the land was guilty by that engagement,) which he receives with the greatest zeal, and keeps the days appointed for public humiliation by the commission of the kirk, in his own congregation, upon these grounds. And who would have thought, that saw Mr. Sharp mourning for covenant breaking, that he was but mocking God; surely if any had said so at that time, it had been thought the height of uncharitableness. But now our church sees it fit to enjoin the renewing of the Covenant throughout the whole congregations of the land, (we mean the League and Covenant,) as being the most effectual way for confirming the obligation thereof, upon the consciences of people, and guarding against a further defection in the church, after the example of former times, for which there is none shews greater forwardness than this man, who not only swears it himself, but makes the whole congregation of Craile to be solemnly sworn thereunto, in all the

heads and articles thereof; and in the height of his zeal pronounces that heavy sentence against some, whom he saw withdrawing when he was about the administration thereof, That they had no part in the Covenant of Grace, who refused to come in under the bond of this covenant.

But what shall we think of his grace, or his interest in the Covenant of Grace, that having come in under the bond of this covenant, which now he had taken at least thrice, has not only broken it, (by climbing up by very foul steps to the highest office of that hierarchy in this land, which he had so solemnly abjured, and thereby has made himself dreadfully perjured,) but likewise doth persecute with deadly enmity, such as hold fast the oath of God in the covenant: but apostates prove always the greatest persecutors, that they may thereby justify their apostacy: and if we shall pass this censure upon it, that there is no consistence betwixt this man's apostacy, perjury, and persecution of the church, and true grace of God, we think we should not be justly censurable for the same. But the splendour of his gifts and the heat of his zeal, (which now carried him that length, as ordinarily in prayer to bless God that had brought down prelacy, for otherways, says he, we would have had popery ere now,) makes him to be taken notice of at Edinburgh, where he had begun even then to insinuate himself upon the ministers of that place, by whom he was frequently employed to preach, in order to a call that was designed for him there, or rather, that he was ambitiously seeking but to be *reus ambitiose petitus*; but a very small proper-

tion (although for itself great enough, especially in a churchman) among the crimes of this man.

However after he had gotten this call, he seemed very unwilling to embrace it, and makes all his parishioners appear with the greatest instancy to keep him; although there was nothing he so much desired as to be transported from so obscure a place (where he thought his gifts was but like a candle hid under a bushel), the place where he was called unto being the chief city of the kingdom; where he desired to be, not only with respect to his future designs, (which he thought might be better carried on there,) but also to his present emolument, the stipends of the ministers of Edinburgh being then ten thousand merks; yet he appears with the greatest modesty and seriousness to oppose his own transportation, as being rather *ad detrimentum*, than *ad majus bonum ecclesiæ:* and he alleges, that although there be some suitableness in his gifts as to the edification of a meaner congregation, yet it would be altogether unsuitable and unfruitful in so eminent a place, where he should but fill the room of a man that might be more useful in the ministry there than himself. But this did but whet the desires of this people the more after him, who thought now they should be truly happy if they could get this man to be their minister, who was of so great gifts, and yet had so much self-denial and humility, as that he desired rather to lurk in an obscure corner with a lesser maintenance, where he thought he might do good by his ministry, than come to the most eminent place of the kingdom, where although he

might have all worldly encouragement, yet could not attain the ends of his ministry. O subtile deceiver! what artifice doth this man use here, as well to make his own people fond on him, (whom he would make believe that he loved them so dearly, that he preferred the good of their souls to all other things, and that nothing but death should part them,) as to make the other intercede the more eagerly for his transportation? But where was this humble modesty in him, that he now pretends unto? when he thrust himself into the New College of St. Andrews in the year 1661, that he might get the degree of a Doctor of Divinity there; which yet he sought not so much for itself, but in order to a higher promotion in the church, which he had then made himself sure of, intending to ascend gradually thereunto, and procured the famous and excellent Mr. Rutherford (who was Principal in that College) to be sequestrate from his office, who yet was not so much afflicted from what he suffered, as from what he saw of ruin unto the church from this man, of whom he had long before foretold.

But to return to the town of Edinburgh, insisting with that earnestness in their suit for Mr. Sharp, to be their minister, that after it was rejected at the Presbytery of St. Andrews and Synod of Fife, (who were as loath to part with him, as if he had been a jewel; but his price shall fall with many of them, and they shall find that he was but a counterfeit jewel, or many years pass,) it is now brought by an appeal before the General Assembly, where the town of Edinburgh prevails

and gets him transported, by an act of the Assembly, to be one of the ministers of that place, which sentence was never yet made effectual, not by the fault of Sharp, (who needed not to be drawn, being always so souple as to run after his preferment and profit,) but by the occasion of the war that fell in shortly after, by Cromwell's invasion, and a further discovery that was made of this man, which so cooled the affections of the godly in that place to him, as that they never insisted further in this matter; at which he took so great displeasure, that there was one in that city whom he judged to have given the chief cause of that slight which he thought he had received, that felt the effects of his vindictive spirit many years after, being chiefly instrumental in the sufferings he fell under after the year 1660.

But our army being broken at Dunbar, occasioned a great division and breach in our church, which we shall not meddle with further than may serve to illustrate the matter in hand; but as it had many bad consequences, so it served chiefly to raise that man to that height of power and greatness in which he now stands; who finds it his surest interest to join himself to that part of the division who had the generality of the corrupt men in the ministry on their side, being commonly called *The Public Resolutioners*, as the other part of the division were called *The Protestors*, which were names that were used too factiously by some, yet subtilly improved by him for suppressing these who adhered to Presbyterian government on both sides; and raising up again that prelatic interest

in the church, that for several years had been very low; for after that our state had been broken by the prevalent power of the public Resolutioners, were strengthened against the brethren of the protesting way. That party then prevailing in our state, in whose favours these resolutions were given, and when now the English power was settled amongst us, it was thought necessary by the Resolutioners, that there should be some man of their way frequently resident at Cromwell's court, to appear there for the interest of the church, although in a divided representation, when yet there was no difference betwixt them and the Protestors anent any point of doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of the church, the Resolutioners being impugned rather in the hypothesis, than thesis by the Protestors.

But Mr. James Sharp was the man pitched upon for that employment, as we shall afterwards hear.

After that fatal defeat of our army at Enderkeithen, which necessitate his Majesty with the remnant of the army to enter into England, to make a diversion of the English forces here. A great many of our nobility and ministers were taken at Elliot, by a very sad surprizal, (amongst whom Mr. Sharp was one,) who were all carried prisoners to London; but we shall find he shall not be long a prisoner there: for although he used religion for other purposes, yet it could not serve him to suffer, nor did he ever intend to use it for that end; for although he was a divine by profession, yet he practised more that principle of Ma-

chiavel's, (that religion is to be pretended but not intended, this being prejudice and that profit,) than any precept in the word of God; so that now ruminating upon the best expedient for procuring his liberty without consulting his brethren, conscience, or religion therein, he thinks it might easily be effectuate if he should take the tender, which if he might obtain upon no harder terms, he thought he should purchase it at a very easy rate: and indeed this man hath made no other purchases but what he hath acquired by his treasonable practices, both against God and the king. But this tender (including a plain renunciation of monarchy, in the person of his Majesty and his successors) all honest subjects refused, as being contrair the oath of allegiance, and unto the oath of God in the Covenant; yet Mr. Sharp makes no bones of it, but takes it; although he had the impudence to call Mr. Jenkins (an English minister) a knave, upon the occasion of one who was inquiring for him, in the year 1661, who had been of his acquaintance at London: And wherefore is he a knave? say they. Because he took the tender, says he. If he took the tender, say they, it was when his life was in hazard: but what will you say to the man who took the tender, when his liberty only, and not his life was in danger?—Which discovery coming from a person of quality, whom he did not think had known so much of his knavery, was very pricking, and made him bite the lip; finding that the disgrace he had intended to rub upon Mr. Jenkins, did much more reflect upon himself. *And thinkest thou this, O man, that judgest*

*them who do such things, and doest thou the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God?* But the tongue of this man is no slander; neither can the assertion of a man so infamous for lying, affix any tush upon the name and fame of Mr. Jenkins, whom, it is like, he did malign for a discovery that he might have made of his false and treacherous dealing, in order to the trust he had there from the presbyterian ministers in Scotland. But now being at liberty, he insinuates himself upon these of the independent way, and gives them hopes he will be of their judgment; who being in greatest favour at that time, he found it his interest to make his friends; being now become so pragmatic, as that he knew to apply himself unto every person, and to speak their language, and make use of them so as might conduce most for carrying on his designs. But notwithstanding of what he hath done, he loses nothing of that respect he had with his brethren, who were yet prisoners, whether it was that they knew not upon what terms he had obtained his liberty, or that they thought it fit to dissemble their knowledge thereof, I shall not determine; but a young wife calls him home, for he had married but a little time before he was taken prisoner.

And I hope it shall not seem, or be found impertinent to this our history, to give a short account of this match, and of the conditions of this woman to whom he matched.

Mr. Sharp resolving to marry, (fearing a public scandal through his unchastity in a single life,) his ambition and covetousness prompts him to propose

suit to persons, who in respect of their birth and portion, were far above his quality, of which not finding success, it caused much disquietment in him; the which one Isobel Hunter, James Moncrief's wife in Craile, perceiving, who was his great tutorix, she encourages him, by proposing marriage unto him with Helen Moncrief, a daughter of Randerston's, and undertakes to be the maker thereof; which proposal he entertains with great complacency, and very freely promises her the half merk when the marriage should be made. So that inquiring no more after this person, but what respecteth her youth, beauty, and portion; for finding these, he thought she was sufficiently qualified, not desiderating any thing else in her. So that Isobel Hunter knowing how to please him, depaints the beauty and youth of this maid, as if she had been describing another Venus or Diana; which so warmed his affections, that although she had had less to say as to her portion, he was now sufficiently determined to prosecute that suit, yet what she had to add concerning that, did wonderfully excite his desires to have the match effectuate, for she tells him, that besides she had a portion provided to her of her father, of which she could not be wronged, there was more than probability for it, that she would be a large sharer in her father's estate, of which the event showed she was not deceived; although this was procured rather by the subtilty of this man, than her merit; whom he afterwards married; who, finding his father-in-law highly displeased with his children, especially with his sons, (who indeed were very profligate

and debauched persons, who yet possibly might have been reclaimed if they had found more mildness in their father,) he did all he could to foment it, and at length drew it to that height, that the father disinherited his only son whom he had then alive, and devolved his estate upon Mr. Sharp, which (after he was bishop) he sold to Pitmedden; getting more from him than ten thousand merks above the true value of that estate, or what any other could have given him, by the procurement of Mr. Alexander Balfour, Pitmedden's brother, whom the bishop engaged in the bargain to be more his than his brother's friend, by promising to promote him to the next vacant bishopric. So that, whether Mr. Alexander put a greater cheat upon his brother, or the bishop upon him, it is hard to determine; whom, when he had served his turn of him, he utterly slighted.

But to return from whence we have digressed: Mr. Sharp being exceedingly well pleased with what he had heard of Helen Moncrief, both as to her person and portion, he now instructs Isobel Hunter to propone his suit unto her with the greatest advantages, that either wit or art could use to render his suit acceptable. So that getting a return of as much acceptance as he could desire, the marriage is in a short time consummated; which gave wonder to some, who knew no more of him than what appeared, that this man (who pretended then to so much piety) should have shown so little respect thereunto in his match. But this woman is so notourly known, that she needs no special character from us. Yet certainly they were not

unequally yoked; for if she was openly prophane, he was much more so covertly; and if she be an ordinary swearer, tippler, scold, and prophaner of the Sabbath day, (as it were easy to make out,) so he had other vices that doth overbalance these, of which he cannot yet purge himself: who, if he find not his table so well ordered, suitably unto his grandeur, (of which his wife had not yet learned the art,) he can quietly bid the devil take her, whispering it in her ear, which was overheard by a servant standing at her back, serving at the table. And James Duncan his chamberlain can declare what his carriage was to him on a Sabbath night, who, (without regard to the holiness of the day,) calling him to give an account, not of his sermon, but of his intromission with his benefice and estate, he broke out in such inordinate passion (which hath been often fatal to him on that day) because he would not charge himself with more than he had intromitted with, that he took him by the cravat, thinking to have strangled him (and indeed he was not to serve his apprenticeship in that art) and bade the devil take him, which was all the blessing he got from the bishop that night. But we must leave him here, and prosecute his story in order.

Having now come home, he was the first minister in all Scotland that left off praying for the king; and indeed he was so loyal a person, that he did all he could to weaken his Majesty's interest among his subjects, and to discourage them from attempting any thing for his restitution, by extolling the power of the usurper above measure, affirming that Cromwell's stake was so called in, that all Europe

would not pull it out; and vilifying his Majesty in such sort, as if he would have eradicate that natural reverence and respect that was in the hearts of all true subjects towards his Majesty's person, calling him Charles Steuart, and poor man he wished he had bread, intending and expressing thereby only contempt and not compassion to his Majesty in his sufferings. So that having now renounced his allegiance to the lawful magistrate, he falls in with the usurpers; intending no less usurpation upon the church than they had made upon the state, unto which, the broken condition thereof gave him no little advantage; for, finding the civil government reduced again to a single person, he hoped that the divisions which were in the church might resolve likewise into a change of the government to prelacy again; especially considering, that although Cromwell while a private man did oppose prelacy, yet now being intruded into regal power and dignity, he hoped he might be induced to restore it again, upon common maxim which had been generally received in the reign of the two former kings, being much inculcated by ambitious churchmen, "No bishop, no king." But this maxim, being no less inconsistent with true divinity than with true policy, (betwixt which there is no discrepancy,) as inferring the holding up of a government in the church no less contradictory to the institutions of Christ than inclinations of the people, produced very tragical effects in these kingdoms: which this man endeavoured by all means to have re-acted, by driving that same design of prelacy with Cromwell which he afterwards most treacherously effect-

ed. And indeed Mr. Wood (who had an excess of charity to Mr. Sharp, and who was so far from taking up an ill report of him, that for a long time he would not believe truth, when it was reported of him) did affirm the truth of what we have here inserted, when he had searched more narrowly into his actions.

But that he might the more effectually follow his designs, he now procures a commission from his presbyterian brethren of the public way, for agenting the affairs of the church at Cromwell's court; and gets an angel imposed upon every minister of their judgment for defraying of his expenses in that negociation; for which there were collectors appointed, who got their collector-fee well paid them in the first synod Mr. Sharp keeped after he was bishop, who doth not remember them there amongst his friends, notwithstanding of what service they had done to him therein, but very freely deposes them, with these whom he looked upon with greatest indignation and contempt. But if we might inquire, without giving offence to these, (unto whom if we give any, it's without our design,) what could have determined so many ministers, that otherwise were wise and godly, to have reposed such trust in this man, who had given little proof of his faithfulness or fixedness to the interest of Christ amongst us, and of whom there was already made some discoveries of his unsoundness, both as to his principles and practices? We think the high distempers of the time had no little influence therein, which induced such practices and prejudices, that so blinded the judgments of many, that neither persons nor

things (with respect to the interest of Christ) were so clearly discerned, as otherways they might have been. For notwithstanding of all his subtile insinuations, (by which he had many persons' admiration,) high professions, and great undertakings for the government of the church, this man might have been found out, if partial respect to the interest of a party had been laid aside, and his actions searched into, even in order to his commission, to be a most dangerous enemy, although a pretended friend: who made it his work to make such a representation of the state of our church as might further exasperate the parties divided, and cast such an odium upon the government unto strangers, as if it were no less inconsistent with itself than with the civil power; which if once he could have persuaded Cromwell of, he thought he was fair to have carried his design. But so great was this man's credit with these from whom he had his commission, that although there was none joined with him therein, yet they would receive no information anent his actions but what he gave himself: and when his lies, falsehoods, and misrepresentations of the state of our church was informed of, besides his base flatteries, by which he crept into favour with the English, that he got his brother to be made a justice clerk; who, from being Swintoun's domestic servant, was made an officer of state, at least had that office which was before that time and is yet reckoned amongst the offices of state. But the English knew for what they granted these favours; which it is not like, was conferred upon him for his service done unto his church and country, but for some

treacherous acts against both. We say, what was informed of him anent these, was looked upon as unjust aspersions cast upon him by these who were prejudiced against him, upon the account of the public differences; and there was no little pains taken to vindicate him from the least reflection that was made upon him at that time.

And so miserably were some infatuate with him, that when Monk wrote down, in the year of God 1660, to a person of quality, "That Mr. Sharp was not the man he was taken to be, and that he feared he should be found not only prelatical but jesuitical," it was not at all believed. But ordinary discoveries of this man were not improven for guarding against his treacherous dealings, to the ruin of the work of God in this land, and involving of us under his wrath and displeasure, and all these miseries we have both seen and felt; since God did in a very extraordinary way, not long before this time, make a discovery of him by a godly dying child (the son of a faithful minister of this church); who having through the whole time of his sickness sweetly affected his hearers with what he expressed of his sense of the love of God to him through Jesus Christ, whom he delighted much to commend, and with whom he seemed to be ravished, breathing out still fervent desires after him; which caused much admiration in all that heard him, to see the grace of God ripening so early in a child that was not nine years old; and here it was that the scripture was fulfilled, and that paradox unfolded, "That the child shall die an hundred years old." But this child awakening one day out of sleep with a great cry and weeping,

it was asked at him, what ailed him thus to cry? he answered, "That he was troubled with Mr. James Sharp, whom he saw in a terrible manner, being represented to him with a very ghastly look, having upon his forehead written, *The wrath of God, The wrath of God, The wrath of God;*" which astonished all that heard him. From which some did conclude, That God did give warning by this child, that there was some work in this man's hand, and wherein he should be chiefly instrumental that should bring great wrath upon this church and kingdom; and that he himself should have such marks of the displeasure of God set upon him, that thereby he should be as much known to be the child of wrath, as if it had been written with legible characters upon his forehead, and that it was thrice repeated it gave the more assurance.

But Mr. Sharp fearing that his presbyterian brethren (for now he is at London) finding nothing effectuate for the advantage of the church, in his negociation with the English power, might recal his commission, which was so lucrative to him, having thereby not only his stipends going to the fore at home, but a supply of money, that saved him not only for necessary expenses but for more extraordinary spending, which his excess and intemperance made likeways necessary to him; and that he was subject to such excesses, as are inconsistent with the moderation that becomes a Christian, far more a minister, we think this particular instance, besides others that might be given, will sufficiently make out the truth thereof, which he cannot deny. He being invited by a Scotchman

at London to dinner, where were present likewise Colonel Lothian, Henry Wilkie, who is now conservator, and one James Forrest, a merchant, all Scotchmen; after dinner they ran to that excess, that they drank sixty healths, besides other drinking, of which, it seems, Mr. Sharp had his large share, for he was so intoxicated therewith that he lost all sense and feeling; so that James Forrest was forced to hire a coach (for which he gave half a crown) and did cast him therein like a beast, and carried him to his chamber.

Here we find God bringing to light this man's works of darkness, although it is not to be doubted but yet there is much more to be discovered than what is yet known of his wickedness; but *there is nothing hid that shall not be* discovered and *revealed.* And therefore that he might continue his commission, he advertiseth his brethren of the danger that threatened the government of the church, (which he called ordinarily, *The Ark of God,)* thinking hereby to make his service more necessary unto them, although it had no such dangerous enemy as himself; and withal intimates how necessary his abode would be there for a time, for obviating these dangers; whereby he easily obtains a prolongation of his commission, which was that he so much desired, having thereby such time and trust as gave him all advantage for betraying that interest. For whatever he did, or omitted to do in execution of that trust, and prosecution of his commission, it received always a good construction from his brethren, who saw his actions no otherwise but through that false mirror he held up unto them,

which represented the most crooked things straight. But what could have imported so great danger unto the church as the intrusting the concernments thereof unto this man, who traitorously sought the ruin thereof; for while he was under commission, and had undertaken to act for the interest of the church as it was then established, he kept correspondence with the enemies thereof, and was communicating counsels, and making contrivances with them for loosing the pins of presbyterian government, (as afterward he used toward it,) even then when he himself pretended to be a great pillar thereof. But what account he gave unto his brethren of his negociation, they themselves best know; and we shall not further search into it, only it seems they were well satisfied, and had no doubt of his fidelity and fixedness to the government of the church, for they sent him up to London the third time, (for he had been twice up before, and stayed there several years, in Oliver and Richard's time,) in such a juncture of affairs as threatened great danger to the church, where, by a sad catastrophe, he shut up all his negociations in a palpable and apparent betraying of his trust, to the utter ruin of the work of Reformation in this land.

For Mr. Sharp having oft laid his nets, and not catching what he had been long seeking or fishing for, (finding the waters growing now more muddy,) he promises himself a more sure fishing; and ere it be long, we shall find him sacrificing to his own net, and burning incense to his dreg, because by it his portion is made fat and his meat plenteous. And

indeed this man, although he bare a spiritual office in the church, minded only earthly things; and making his belly his God, applied himself only to such arts as were subservient thereunto, which we shall see him use with great success. Richard being forced to resign the government, the usurpers fall all in confusion; their councils being distracted, their armies were turned one against another; for Monk with the army in Scotland declared for the Rump Parliament, against the Council of Safety then sitting at London, marched into England with his army against Lambert, whose forces deserting him at Newcastle, gave the victory into Monk's hands without one stroke stricken: but Monk not having declared for the king, that he might the better secure the kingdom under the power of the usurpers, in his absence had caused a very considerable number of persons (in some shires) of the best quality to subscribe a letter, which had obligations of equal import with the Tender; which when this was reflected upon afterwards, by some who thought they might have merited a good construction, who, although they could not comply with the courses of the times, yet had shown a tenderness towards his Majesty's interest, as that they had refused to receive it upon the greatest hazard or advantages; of which they could not purge themselves, who charged them with so great disloyalty, because of their nonconformity. Who instead of being approven thereby for their loyalty, had it said unto them, *That they were fools that refused the* Tender, *and knaves that keeped it:* importing, that it was only carnal interest that ought to

determine the conscience, as to the taking or keeping of engagements; and that a man could not be both wise and honest: which divinity (if it may be so called) Mr. Sharp not only practised himself, but advised the same to others, being the great state casuist at that time; but such divinity became such a perjured divine as Mr. Sharp.

But although Monk had not given any assurance before he went from Scotland that he intended to bring home the king, for ought that ever we could learn, or found made out, resolving to act in relation to his Majesty as his interest should determine him: yet whereunto these confusions did tend, it was easy to resolve; for Monk finding the general inclinations of the people running toward the king; and these for whom he had declared were become jealous of him, and were designing to lay him aside; who yet were not of power to support themselves, resolves to bring in the Secluded Members again, who still adhered to the king, upon the grounds of the Covenant. And indeed the first act they past, after they were set down, gave some specimen of their inclinations and designs; for they ordained the Covenant to be set up in the Parliament House, and in all the principal churches in England, which gave such an alarum unto the prelatic party, that they never left off plying of Monk (amongst whom was concurrent our Mr. Sharp, for he was now at London) until he caused that Parliament dissolve itself, and a new Parliament be called: and then it was apparent unto all, that the king should be brought home without any conditions or restrictions in order to religion; which (what danger that did

import thereunto) what followed, and since, does sufficiently declare. But by what we have heard, we may see what ground our church had to fear an innovation in religion, and what necessity there was of some application to be made unto his Majesty, that our reformation in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, as it was then established, might be maintained; and the rather, because the greatest enemies thereof were now prevalent and in power. But what fatality ruled their councils! and how much were they deserted of God? that where, notwithstanding Mr. Sharp had not effected any thing for the good of the church, in all his former negociations, and was become so elated with pride that (except for his own ends he deferred respect unto a few) he looked on all the rest of his brethren with disdain; that yet they should not more advert unto this proud man's designs, nor consider the importance of the trust they now gave him, upon the right or ill management of which the standing or falling of our church did depend, as the event sadly proved.

But now we come to see in what order, and how subtilely he insinuates himself upon his trust: Mr. Douglass, Mr. Forrest, and Mr. Wood, with some others of the greatest of our ministers, in an extra-judicial way, having met together with Mr. Sharp, in order to the choosing of some of their number, that, in name and behalf of the Church of Scotland, might make an address unto his Majesty, as well to congratulate his happy restauration, as to signify what loyal affection they had ever carried towards his Majesty's person, even during the prevalent power of the usurpers amongst us; and with all

humility to represent unto his Majesty, how necessary they thought it would be (for confirming the affections of his subjects unto him, in this kingdom) that his Majesty should declare his royal will and pleasure for maintaining the reformation of religion, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, according to the standing laws of this kingdom, which had been ratified by his Majesty in open Parliament; and the Covenants so solemnly sworn unto, as well by king as subjects, which they could not think but his Majesty would keep inviolably; especially considering, what a supervenient obligation the LORD had now laid upon him, to perform what he had vowed unto GOD in these Covenants, by turning the hearts of his subjects and people unto him, and bringing about his restitution so extraordinarily. But Mr. Douglass having gravely discoursed, and at great length to this purpose, did likeways press the necessity of this address, as well from the common duty they owed unto the king, as unto the church; the eminent danger of which, the insolence of the prelatic party (who were already begun to triumph as if they had obtained the victory) did sufficiently demonstrate. It was very fully assented unto, no less by Mr. Sharp than the rest that were present. But it being to be resolved, whether one or more should be employed in that commission? Mr. Sharp was very prompt to adduce reasons in the negative, as to this last number of the attenative, not doubting but he himself should be the person; fearing, if there were any other joined with him, his treacherous dealing might be discovered before he could bring his design to perfection.

But to determine them the more as to the choice of himself, he forgeth a letter, as if it had been from Monk, and trysts it so, that it should be delivered to him while he was with the rest of his brethren at this meeting; wherein Gen. Monk writes to him, "That he desired much his presence with him, and that therein he might be very serviceable to the church, as well as in promoting of his Majesty's restitution." Having opened and read this letter privately to himself, that he might seem to take away all cause of jealousy he communicates it very freely unto his brethren; who finding this letter tristed so appositly to the purpose for which they were met, they thought God was thereby designing the person unto them, and, as it were, especially calling Mr. Sharp unto this employment, whom they found otherways sufficiently qualified for the same, in respect of his being so much exercised, and having so great experience in affairs; besides having this advantage beyond others, that he had special favour and respect of Monk, whom, it was thought, he might much influence for the good of the church (but we have heard what character Monk gave him). So that, without any hesitation, they all concur to persuade Mr. Sharp to accept of this commission, whom yet they found apparently very unwilling thereunto (using such artifice as he had always practised in such cases); pretending not only that there might be others found of greater sufficiency for this employment than himself, but likewise, the many occasions he had had from his charge should plead an exemption unto him from this service; professing that the care of his flock

lay so much upon his heart, that he had no freedom to undertake an employment that might abstract him so long from them, as this was like to do. But what deep hypocrisy is here! was there any thing he so much desired as this commission, or that he so little cared for as his flock? But the more averse he seemed to be, the more pressing his brethren were upon him to accept; undertaking to supply his charge in his absence, and to discharge all ministerial duties therein; so that at length he seemed to be prevailed with, rather by his brethren's importune desires, and as having removed, by the offer they made, that (apparently) conscientious scruple that stood in the way of his acceptance, than from his own inclinations. Which yet if they had not determined him more to ambition and covetousness, than to uprightness and sincere dealing, he might have given a better account of his commission than he did.

But now having accepted, Mr. Douglass takes him solemnly engaged as before God, his angels, and his brethren that were present, that he should deal faithfully in this commission; employing himself to the utmost of his power for procuring the maintenance of religion, as it was then established; and if he found himself unequal to such a province, he should crave the assistance of some others of his brethren therein; and should give advertisement as he had occasion, how matters stood in relation to the church, that they might the better know how to order themselves therein.

Being thus engaged, as we heard, that he might be despatched the sooner for his journey, some few

of their number, upon their own credit, borroweth a sum of money for defraying of his expenses, (because the collection could not so soon be gathered in, which had been the usual way of supplying him with money formerly,) which yet afterwards they were forced to pay without any relief; seeing no other effect or fruit thereof, but the enabling of this man to purchase to himself the archbishopric of St. Andrews, with a treacherous selling of the true interest of the church, which (as we have heard) he was so deeply engaged to promote.

But although he was empowered by his brethren to buy the truth and not to sell it, yet he had another bargain than they knew of, or were privy unto; for before this he had a meeting with the Earl of Glencairn, the late Lord Chancellor and others, at Dinbug, at Creichy's burial, where he offers his service for the overthrow of that interest that now he had undertaken to act for, and was entrusted with a commission, and furnished with money from his brethren for that effect. Which received that acceptance, that my Lord Glencairn wrote to the king, recommending Mr. Sharp as Episcopal unto him, and as a person fit to serve his interests in the church, for the restoring of Prelacy again therein. And indeed it is like his Majesty should not have known him otherways under this character, having been for so many years agent for the presbyterian cause, and was still in commission for prosecuting that interest which thus he shamefully betrays.

But ere long we shall see him lay aside his presbyterian cloak, which covered but his knavery, and

put on his pontifical gown. But we must follow him to London, and then over to Breda unto the king, and see what method he uses to accomplish his treachery.

And indeed, he took his measures at Dunboug, in conformity to which he exactly walked. Coming to London, he finds Monk tossed with tides of contrary factions, which then ran impetuously, not knowing where to fix or cast anchor. Sometimes he inclined to satisfy the presbyterians, to bring home the king with conditions for the security of religion, with some obligation upon him to satisfy the ends of the Covenant; and had come that length therein, that in the first draught of a letter he had written to the king, he puts his Majesty in mind of his obligation in the Covenant; which letting Mr. Sharp see, thinking it would highly please the presbyterians (not knowing as yet that he was driving another interest) he found he did not relish it, alleging, That his Majesty would not take it well, if he should not himself first declare his sense he had of the obligation of that Covenant; and that it might seem beyond the duty of a subject to restrict his Majesty further than he saw fit to bind himself. So that he prevails with Monk to delate these words in his letter, relating to the Covenant. And yet he assured the presbyterians (to whom he was not yet discovered) that he had secured Monk as to that interest: and indeed they reposed the greater trust in him, because he was commissioner from the Church of Scotland; and did very freely communicate counsels with him, whom yet he utterly betrayed, discovering all their counsels to the

prelatic party, and rendering them altogether ineffectual. So that giving notice to the prelatic party how wavering and unstable Monk was, they never left plying of him until they had determined him according to their desires. So that now having all encouragement from the present state of affairs to bring his treasonable designs to a good issue, he goes over to Breda that he might make application to his Majesty, not doubting but he would make his commission as acceptable unto him, as the letter (mentioned before) would render his person gracious unto his Majesty. That after he had gotten access to his Majesty, "He gratulates that happy juncture of affairs, in the name of the Church of Scotland, that had so united the hearts of his subjects unto him, that his Majesty might now take peaceable possession of his right, from which he had been so long excluded; and have those arms for his defence and guard, which had been so long employed in hostility against him. And withal (he said) he had in commission to signify unto his Majesty, That the Church of Scotland was no more joyful that his Majesty should now be restored unto his people, than they were hopeful he would restore that ancient government of prelacy unto the church again, under which they had enjoyed so long peace and prosperity; having been groaning under (these years bygone) such tyranny and confusion, which they could not look upon otherways, but as the sad effects which that change of the government had produced amongst them. And although (says he) there may be some ministers in that church who may yet struggle for the holding up the idol of

presbytery among them, being so far engaged in opposition to prelacy, yet they may think *(salvo honore)* they cannot make a retreat. But as these may be easily taken off, by promoting them to the same dignities in the church that they seemed to be so much against,—so others that are more irreconcilable to that interest, and upon worse principles, will be the fit object of your Majesty's justice, who by inflicting deserved punishment upon a few, the rest may be brought under a more loyal obedience."

But Mr. Sharp having discoursed to this purpose had a gracious acceptance or audience of his Majesty, who yet refused his answer and despatch until he himself should come to Whitehall. Only there were some that had this reflection upon it, That they were glad to find his Majesty's subjects in Scotland in a better temper; and to treat more now as becomes their allegiance and duty, than when they treated with his Majesty in this place, in the year of God 1650. And although his Majesty was glad to restore prelacy to that church *again*, yet he was better pleased that it should be done upon their own desire than otherways; being *in a* manner supplicate by Mr. Sharp, in the name of the Church of Scotland, for that end.

But how far he betrayed his trust herein, is very palpably discovered, by what we have heard was given him in commission from his brethren, in order to this address; and that he dealt treasonably against the king, in informing so falsely anent the state of the Church of Scotland; and in giving him such bloody instigations against his true subjects, we hope his Majesty will at length find out, if he

has not already discovered, by the tragical effects that prelacy has produced in that church. But after his Majesty was come to Whitehall, having received the congratulations of the Scotch nobility, who flocked to court to renew their allegiance to him, he did not now begin to think upon settling the affairs of the Church of Scotland; relying most upon what information and advice he gets from Mr. Sharp therein, who is now become a great favourite, being looked upon by his Majesty as a person of that authority and influence in that church, as that he was able to effect what he had undertaken, to bring the Church of Scotland to a due conformity to prelacy. And his Majesty was the rather induced to think so, in respect he was the only person they had employed to agent their affairs, and represent their desires unto him. And for a reward of his service, he gets a promise of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and primacy of Scotland.

But a change of the government being determined, it was now to be advised what way his Majesty should bring it in; whether by the authority of the church themselves, by calling a General Assembly, and obtaining a resignation of that authority and jurisdiction they claimed to themselves in the hands of the bishops? or by his Majesty's own proper authority? These that were for the first advised it upon these grounds, It would conciliate a great deal of more respect unto the office that it should derive its authority from, and be introduced by an ecclesiastic power: and the example of king James being adduced, who was a wise prince, who introduced bishops this way into

the church, they thought should have great weight: and if the Church of Scotland stood not worse affected to prelates, than Mr. Sharp had informed of, they thought his Majesty might with more advantage obtain his desires this way, than the other. But notwithstanding hereof, Mr. Sharp is of another judgment, and advises his Majesty very positively, to use his own authority more immediately for the restoring of Prelacy again unto that church; alleging, 'That it was good striking the iron when it was hot;' and to take the time, when his subjects were in that heat of affection towards him, and when the confusions and oppressions they were under, were yet recent to impose that government upon them, for then they might be more pliable unto his will, than afterwards they might be found to be: and although there were many ministers in that church (Prelacy being once set up) that no doubt would be brought to a compliance herewith, through the temptation of a livelihood, unto whose vote it would be very unsafe to refer it, seeing even such might be made use of by factious spirits, to make a party in a General Assembly to withstand Prelacy: whereas if it should be brought in otherways, and as it were, by a surprisal upon them, the designs of all such might be rendered ineffectual, by the breaking up of all church meetings, that were not authorised by the bishops; and the discharging of all extrajudicial meetings, under highest pains: but this advice taking place, there is a Parliament indicted by his Majesty, in Scotland, to sit down the 1st of Jan. 1661, and Mid-

dletoun is appointed to be Commissioner for the same.

But in the mean time Mr. Sharp procures a letter from his Majesty to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, to be communicate to the rest of the Presbyteries; wherein he promises to maintain the government of the church, as it was established by law; and the authorities of the Assemblies of St. Andrews and Dundee, &c. (which were the controverted Assemblies,) and to call for Mr. Dowglas and others, to take their advice in matters relating to the church, which yet was never done. But what Mr. Sharp designed by this letter, is very obvious, which was as well to take the Presbyterians off their ground, and make them secure of any danger they feared, in order to the government of the church, until the Act Recissory was past, as to commix them one with another, and make the Presbyterians depose the Presbyterians, under the name of Protestors, that the Prelatists might have the less ado; unto which, he thought, his Majesty taking the patrociny of these Assemblies, should have engaged them, as likewise he thought, by this letter to come fair off with his Presbyterian brethren, as having thereby effected what he had undertaken in his commission; making his brethren fain of nothing, and abusing his Majesty to palliate his own treachery.

But Middletoun, who was not upon the contrivance of this letter, hearing thereof, was much surprised, exclaiming against Mr. Sharp as the greatest knave in the world, as having undertaken to his

Majesty, to get Prelacy received in the Church of Scotland, and yet had induced him to write such a letter, as imported a declaration of his will to maintain Presbyterian government; but while he is in this discourse, in comes Mr. Sharp, of whom he inquires, What he meant by this letter he had procured his Majesty to write to the Presbytery of Edinburgh? Unto whom he answered, There was no abstruse meaning, nor any thing therein, that might give just cause to his Lordship to offend at, for, says he, your Lordship is going down commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland; and is instructed by his Majesty to rescind the laws made in favours of the Presbyterian government, or that stood against Prelacy: so that when your Lordship has past the Act Recissory, it will then be clear, that government his Majesty is obliged to maintain by the letter; there being then no other government established by law but Prelacy.— Which answer received, made Middletoun admire the egregious knavery of the man, which yet while it was used for promoting the common ends they both aimed at, he easily dispensed with it; altho' afterwards, Mr. Sharp being installed in the archbishopric of St. Andrews, finding him souple and false in his dealings, in relation to the differences that was betwixt the Earl of Lauderdale and him, he was so incensed against him, that he said, He would try if he could depose an archbishop: but being himself deposed from his office, he left that power to his successor the Earl of Lauderdale, who used it against Burnet archbishop of Glasgow, whom he hath since restored again, rather *in odium*

*tertii*, than from a special favour he carries unto so pitiful a prelate.

But Mr. Sharp being come home with his Majesty's gracious letter, had a good acceptance with many of his brethren, especially the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who thought they had obtained thereby as good security for religion, as the English has of their privileges by their Magna Charta; so as they judged it worthy to be laid up in a silver box, and did return a letter of hearty thanks to his Majesty, for his gracious favour exprest in that letter to the Church of Scotland: and after the example of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, the like was done in other Presbyteries and Synods, the letter being communicate unto them: but there are some things that past in the Synod of Fife, which sat at that time in Kirkaldy, (where Mr. Sharp was present,) in relation to that letter, that's worthy the noticing. After it was agreed upon by the plurality, that a letter of thanks should be returned unto his Majesty *in communi forma*, it was much prest by Mr. John M'Gill, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn, and some others, that in that letter mention should be made of the Covenant unto his Majesty, as that bond, which as it did oblige both king and subjects unto God, so it did firmly tie them one to another; and that as true loyalty is founded upon true religion, so his Majesty should find them most loyal unto him, that were most religious unto God: but this awakening Mr. Sharp, he rose up, and had a long discourse, where after many oblique, yet sharp reflections on the Covenant, he alleged it would be unseasonable and ill taken of by his Majesty to

make mention thereof: and besides, he said, there was neither man nor minister in England that would own that Covenant (except Mr. Ash, an old man, whose one foot was in the grave). Whose judgment at that time was of so great weight, that it did determine the plurality of the Synod thereunto; unto which, notwithstanding the persons above-mentioned, and some others, did much reclaim upon very weighty reasons, as seeing more of his knavery than others did: yet it was mentioned by some, that Mr. Sharp should be removed, which being done, they proposed that he should have the public thanks of the Synod, for his faithfulness and pains taken in the affairs of the church; which likewise was carried, and Mr. George Hamilton, the moderator, was ordained to give him thanks accordingly: who not giving him thanks so ample as was desired, he was again removed, and the moderator enjoined to give him greater thanks; who yet did not answer the expectation of the person thanked, nor others, for he was as straitened in them as before: but the Synod dissolving, Mr. William Row came and took Mr. Sharp by the cloak, at the outgoing of the door, and asked at him, How he could be so impudent as to affirm a thing so notoriously false, in the face of the whole Synod, that there was neither man nor minister in England that owned the Covenant, but Mr. Ash, seeing Mr. Crofton had come out in print for the obligation of the Covenant, of which he could not be ignorant? Unto which he gave no other reply, but that he knew Mr. Crofton, a little knackity body, just like Mr. Henry Wilkie.

But Mr. Sharp resolves to keep on his disguise (which yet was a covering, narrower than that he could wrap himself in it) until the Act Recissory was past in Parliament, and he himself placed Professor of Theology in the New College of St. Andrews, with the title of Doctor, which was not a degree that used to be conferred in our church, as being inconsistent with that parity, which ought to be among church officers; which he sought only as previously necessary to his future dignity, not intending here to terminate his ambition, far less to exercise the duty which belonged to that office, although he forgot not to take up that year's stipends, who yet never taught one lesson for it. But now it pleased him well, that he had the title of a Doctor of Divinity by his office, which he thought might gain him the greater reputation of his learning, and so might recommend him the more to the primacy, and in the mean time it served him as an ornament in that place he was now advanced unto, being appointed or officiating as his Majesty's chaplain; as likewise, he thought hereby to triumph over Mr. Rutherford, who had still opposed his entry into the College, where he himself had been Principal for many years, with great fame, (who now being broken with sickness and sorrow, for the ruin of the church that he saw approaching,) he took a great pleasure to afflict and persecute, having first procured him to be confined in his own house, and his book called *Lex Rex* sentenced to be burnt, as it were, before his eyes, it being done in St. Andrews where he lived, the Provost of the place intimating the sentence to him, before the

execution thereof; and then himself to be staged upon the account of that book; all which contumelies he patiently endured, only he told those of his brethren that concurred in his inauguration, who were induced thereto, (partly through his threatenings, partly through his flatteries,) and would have had his consent for receiving of such a snake in a *Gremio Academiæ*, That he wondered they should have desired such a thing of him, seeing they knew his judgment of that man long since, whom he was so far from thinking fit to instruct youth in Theology, that he looked on him as Satan's chief instrument for the ruin of the Church of Scotland; giving very free warning unto his brethren, that this man they were now seeking to promote, should ere it were long, trample upon their necks that were his promoters: the truth whereof they found verified in a very short time; for this man by a monstrous ingratitude, was no sooner installed Archbishop of St. Andrews, than he turned out the whole ministers of that presbytery, which consisted of twenty-three, of which himself made one, although the most unworthy member of that society; excepting only three old men, viz. Mr. David Forrest, Mr. George Hamilton, and Mr. Colin Adam, nonconformists, whose ministry was yet an eyesore to him; and four conformists, viz. Mr. Andrew Honyman, Mr. Walter Comrie, Mr. Alexander Edward, and Mr. Robert Wilkie, three of whom he afterwards advanced to greater benefices and dignities in the church; commending themselves to him by the like vices

of prevarication and perjury, by which he himself had been raised.

But because we have here occasion to make mention of Mr. Andrew Honyman, we hope it shall not be found beyond our scope, nor impertinent to the subject in hand, to give a short touch of this man's rise and progress, especially considering what a near resemblance may be found betwixt this man's life and his, which we have in some part delineate: and although by some they may not be thought lovely in their lives, (except blackness be taken for beauty,) yet 'tis like, they may think themselves injured, if therein they should be divided, and indeed they seem to run the same fate, and to be such inseparable companions, that the one cannot be shot at, except the other be hit, the one being the other's martyr.

Mr. Andrew Honyman was born in St. Andrews, of mean parentage, which yet gave him not such a disadvantage as to his future promotion, as the place of his birth gave him advantage thereunto: for although his father was but a baxter to his trade, and of small means, yet living in a university town, he easily got his sons bred at schools and colleges, dedicating more than one scone of the baking unto the Muses, for he had made all his four sons scholars, who were afterwards all ministers, yet such as might have profited the commonwealth more in following their father's trade of baking, than they have done the church in following the ministry; being themselves as cakes un-

turned, neither raw nor roasted, and as unsavoury salt that's profitable for nothing, but to be cast out unto the dunghill. But Andrew his eldest son, after he had past his course in philosophy, gave great hopes he might be useful in the church, both in respect of the pregnancy of his spirit, and his apparently good inclinations unto piety; so that these who were more zealous for the good of the church, finding themselves concerned in the breeding of this youth, (he himself not having means to follow forth his studies,) did gather a collection among themselves, which they employed for the tabling of him with Mr. Henderson, who was then minister of Leuchars, and whose house was an academy, wherein that grave and profound divine did as well endeavour to inform the judgments of youth in sound doctrine, as to form their manners with a suitable practice thereunto, no less by his example, than precept; asserting and vindicating the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of our church, from the late corruptions and pollutions thereof, and the Popish and Prelatic party of that time. But what a bird this was of whose breeding there was such care taken, the following actions of his life will sufficiently discover unto us: for Mr. Honyman had another design in going to Mr. Henderson's house, than they had who placed him there, who respected mainly the good of the church therein, and the accomplishment of this youth for the service thereof, whereas he designed thereby some carnal interest, thinking by Mr. Henderson's favours, the more easily and quickly to attain some good benefice, wherein indeed he was not deceived;

for in a short time he was placed minister in the Ferry Partan-Craig, assistant to one Mr. Samuel Cuninghame, who was afterward deposed for insufficiency, and whose daughter he married, who proved a very naughty woman, but suitable enough unto the man. But he was not long there, when he was transported to St. Andrews, and colleagued with Mr. Blair, Mr. Wood, and Mr. Rutherford, in the ministry of that place, although a most unequal yokefellow to so great labourers; the brightness of whose gifts did utterly darken and obscure his, which was aye dry and lifeless, and no otherways edifying, than by exercising the patience of his hearers; who found this man rather lying as a burden upon the work of the Lord, than that it was any way promoted in his hands. But it was not long before that spirit that lusteth to envy, did begin to discover itself in him, not enduring that his brethren should have more estimation and following among the people, than himself, who yet that his ministry might not become altogether ineffectual, (how little soever of personal merit he had,) did put all the respect they could upon it; which yet did not so cure the canker-worm of this man's envy, but that still the excellent gifts and eminent graces of these men were like pricks in his eyes. But Mr. Honyman thinking, that in following the way of God he should still continue poor and obscure; for although he had a considerable stipend, being a thousand pounds Scots a year, and well payed him, yet through his wife's drinking, and his own gormandizing, it could hardly serve to maintain him: he resolves therefore to

espouse the malignant interest, laying his accompts that if that interest prevailed, although he should not have such popular applause in the church as others, yet he should thereby be promoted to some greater benefice, if not dignities therein; his pride and poverty thrusting him forward to all the mischievous ways that he afterwards followed, of which in the end he shall reap no other fruit but infamy and ruin. But this man was still wavering, and being a double minded man, was unstable in all his ways, and like the needle in the compass, was never fixed, but when he airthed towards malignancy, that being the pole he always pointed at: but the first discovery that he made thereof, was at the Engagement 1648, (for this man, like a true son of Amalek, lay in wait against the church, to fall in with her enemies when she was at the weakest,) where in a lecture he had at that time on a Lord's day, he applied Meroz's curse against them that came not out to help the Lord against the mighty, unto these that withdrew their assistance from that Engagement, asserting the lawfulness thereof, although it was declared unlawful by our church, and is commonly so called unto this day, which so stirred the zeal of Mr. Wood, that in the afternoon being to preach, he took that same text, and refuted what he had said; yet the bad success of that Engagement was more powerful than any argument, to make him retract his opinion; for he no sooner appeared for that Engagement, but he past from his compearance again; who although he was clear to preach for it, yet he resolved not to suffer for it; for Honyman could be any man

where his interest and advantage lay; and yet was no man, nor at no time of any truth or honesty: but now he lies close, and darns as a hare in her seat, until the ecclesiastic censures were past, that were used against ministers that had compliance with that Engagement, and does not appear again until the divisions that brake out in the church, gave him encouragement, and then he makes a greater discovery of what spirit he was of, than before, by the reflections he had against Mr. Rutherford, wherein he showed that his nature was not answerable to his name, and that he tasted more of gall and wormwood than of honey, and in the temper of his spirit was more bitter than sweet: but we shall not be more particular in what relates to his carriage at that time, wishing that these divisions were as much quenched, as they seem now to be quieted, fearing that by raking into their ashes, they might yet gather heat; only we may say that such corrupt men as this, became then more bold to vent what had been long lurking in their breasts; for whatever they profest for Presbyterian government, Antichristian Prelacy was the greatest idol they worshipped, who yet while they found it not safe to profess their devotions thereunto, made it their work to stain their reputation, and to weaken their authority in the church, so far as they were able; whose zeal and faithfulness to the interest of Christ, made them despair of ever being reconciled to that Romish hierarchy, or to any malignant course, that might introduce it. But after the 1660 year of God, we shall find Mr. Honyman in a great heat of zeal for Presby-

tery, but presently grows so cold again, so that he never recovers heat until he wan in a hot bishopric again. And indeed we shall find it as hard to reconcile this man unto himself, as to reconcile his practices either with truth or honesty: for after bishops were restored in England, he comes unto Mr. Blair and gets the loan of Blondel against Episcopacy, which when he had read, he comes back again to him with the book, and said, He blest God that he had read it, for now he was fully confirmed of the unlawfulness of Prelacy in the Church; and within a little after, goes unto the pulpit, and calls Prelacy a plant not of God's planting; and asserted that his tender plants never grew under the shadow of that shrub; and, says he, Ye may call us men of profligate consciences, and spit in our faces, if we should contradict, either in our preaching or practice, what we have here asserted. And yet in the first sermon he had at St. Andrews, after he was a bishop, he told the people, that he had been seeking light in that controversy, while they were sleeping, and that he never studied the government of the church before, but in his practice had been carried away with the spot of the time. But what a poor off-come was this to a man that had lived twenty-two years in the practice of Presbyterian government, and to so great a divine as Mr. Honyman would have been thought to be, to profess so great ignorance and neglect of the government of the church (till that time) which he was so solemnly sworn to maintain: but according to his own judgment, he must be a man of a debaucht conscience, that makes so little conscience, either of

lying or perjury. But although the people should not spit in his face, (which yet if they should do, we think they could not be culpable, because *volenti non fit injuria,*) yet we doubt not but God will rub shame on him, and on all such who have made such a shameful defection from God and his truth. But if we should inquire, where he found that light he was seeking? Sure we are, he found it not among his books, nor in his study; for when he had resolved them all, and brought in others, he found nothing in them for Prelacy, but according to his own confession was the more confirmed against it. But we can tell him, if he will admit the truth to be told him, that he found not his new light at prayer, for Prelacy, nor at his devotions with God, (in which he was at best but superficial) but at a conference he had with Mr. Sharp at Balmungy Whins, who was at that time travelling through the country to make Prelatic proselites, and had trysted him there; where he came, not fenced with iron, (with which they had need to be, that would handle thorns,) or guarded with the grace of God, that would be kept from the touches of the evil one, but with a heart as void of the fear of God, as filled with covetousness, which disposes him upon the first offer of a temptation, to close with Mr. Sharp, and join issue with him; whose heart Satan had then filled to betray the church of God, which treachery he was now carrying on: so that Mr. Honyman running greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, having only in his eye the wages of unrighteousness, does forget what had past but a little time before, between him and Mr. Wood,

in Mr. Blair's house, where Mr. Wood telling Mr. Blair, he was going to Edinburgh, and it is like, says he, I may have a bishopric in my offer; which it seems he spoke only to try this man, whose hollow heartedness, upon good grounds, was then begun to be suspected, (for that Mr. Wood would never have accepted of a bishopric, the testimony he left at his death against Prelacy, doth sufficiently bear witness,) but Mr. Honyman looking stedfastly to him, says, "If you accept of a bishopric, I wish you wirry upon the bones of it." Yet he himself makes now no bones to swallow the archdeanery of St. Andrews, and afterwards the bishopric of Orkney; but it may crow in his crop; and what he has so easily swallowed down, he may vomit up again. But he is no sooner a bishop than he begins effectually to bite, before he could show his teeth, when he had no mind to bite; as in the last Presbyterian Synod that sat at St. Andrews, which was raised, he being appointed to draw up a Supplication, to be presented to the Parliament, against the bringing in of the bishops to this church again, he drew it up with that sharpness, that some thought it not fit to be made use of, (which yet were clear for the thing,) until the truth was taken out of it. But he soon casts his Presbyterian teeth, and in their stead there grows in swines tusks, with which he does not only bite but tear the memory and fame both of the dead, and living, that owned, or owns that interest he had now forsaken, in his virulent pamphlet, called, 'The Survey of Napthali,' both first and second part thereof; the first part being come out, God does as it were, beat the pen

out of his hand, by a bullet that lighted on his arm, or wrist; which was as little intended against him by the shooter, as the arrow that lighted betwixt the joints of Ahab's harness, was intended by the man that drew the bow at a venture. But we shall not follow this man's life any further; yet we hope this digression shall not be found altogether unprofitable, seeing thereby there is a discovery made in more instances than one, what sort of men our chief prelates are; and by what means they have been raised to these high dignities in the church, which they now exercise with so much pride and tyranny.

But now we must return to Mr. Sharp, who yet carried a fair face with a false heart unto his brethren, until he was (as we have heard) placed in the New College of St. Andrews; but then knowing he had no more use for them, he utterly slighted them, this being the last time that ever he met Presbyterially with them, for now he is for the most part at Edinburgh, attending the Court, wherein all that was done for the overturning of the government of the church, he was a chief adviser and contriver; and yet he works so underground, that he thinks to have his mine sprung, and all the work of God amongst us in a rubbish, before he were discovered: and therefore before the Act Recissory past, he comes to Mr. Wood, and tells him, that there was such an act to pass in the Parliament to-morrow, (when he knew there was neither time nor means to give any demur thereunto,) and seems to be as much surprised

therewith, and as deeply affected therewith, as he: but this is not the first time that he had abused the ingenuity and goodness of this worthy man, as his letters unto Mr. Wood (which yet may be published to his shame) will discover more fully; in one of which, written from London, before he came down with his Majesty's letter, he says, "There is a devilish design a working here, for the overthrow of Presbyterian government, but he hoped it should be crushed in the bud." And yet he himself was the devil and master-worker therein. But Mr. Sharp can both burn and blow, and act Scotland's part as well when he transforms himself into an angel of light, as when he appears in his own hue and colour: for who would have thought that he had been actively concurring in this devilish design, (as he calls it,) of which he would now seem to make a discovery, and insinuate his own opposition thereunto; but it was only that he might blind the eyes of this honest man, and so the more securely and safely bring his designs unto perfection; which now he had brought that length, that he was less careful to walk with such caution, as formerly he had done; seeing that by the Act of Parliament, rescinding all laws standing against Prelacy, he thought the door was so opened thereunto, that the greatest enemies thereof could not now shut it: so that before this, he had commonly given it out, that the church stood in no hazard from Prelacy, and that the greatest danger was from Erastianism. Yet now he begins more openly to traffic for the Prelatic interest, (as we touched a little before,) going through the

country, and tempting even some of the most eminent of our ministers, labouring to seduce them into the same apostacy with himself; who although he did not prevail with these, whose faith did not fail them in this hour of temptation; being determined, through the grace of God, rather to follow Moses his choice, than Demas his practice; yet he had success answerable unto his desire with many, some of which, partly through the hatred they had unto Christ's government in the church, which was rather concealed than cancelled in them, during the time of Presbytery; and others through the love they had unto the world, although they got not greater benefices, yet to keep these they had, more easily induced to a conformity with Prelacy, But while he is not yet so much discovered unto all, but his fame rather obscured and darkened, thro' secret whisperers, the Presbytery of St. Andrews sends over to Edinburgh Mr. Colin Adam and Mr. Henry Rymer, two of their number, to confer with Mr. Sharp anent the danger that threatened the government of the church; which was not done so much from any confidence they had then of his honesty, (the suspicion whereof was become every where flagrant,) as to search out this man who walked in the dark; for he always hated the light, lest his deeds should be reproved; who yet found not such difficulty to find out his bad practices, as to get access unto him, to charge him with them; for he always shunned meeting with them; and although he sometimes appointed time and place for meeting with them, yet he always mistrysted and disappointed them, being conscious to himself

that the work he was about was such, as he could neither justify it before God nor man; and especially he shunned meeting with these who knew more particularly than others, how high his professions and deep his managements were for maintaining the government of the church, Covenant, and work of Reformation, which he was now secretly undermining. But Mr. Rymer got such information of him here, that if his brethren would have received it, their charity should not have been so much abused, and they might have shunned a snare they afterwards fell into, by his continued dissimulation; which yet made that use of it himself, that he never afterward gave him his countenance, nor concurrence in any of his designs, which he did so deeply resent, that he was the first minister he deposed, after he was bishop. But after he was discovered more fully, by such practices as we have heard, the Presbytery of St. Andrews hearing he was in Crail, sent again two of their number unto him, persons of greatest authority and gravity among them, viz. Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. David Forrest; who might signify unto him, what deep impressions they had of his treacherous dealing with the church; and to give him warning of the wrath and judgments of God hereby incurred; which if it had not effect in reclaiming of him, yet they had thereby discharged their duty, in testifying against his abominable treachery: who when they came near to Crail, met Mr. Sharp riding off the town; and 'tis like enough, having heard that they were coming unto him, had thought to have made a diversion, but having ren-

countred with them, he very dryly offers to go back; which they were willing to accept of, that they might have the better opportunity to discharge their minds unto him; who when they were come into his own house, Mr. Blair did begin with great weight to expostulate with him for his subtle and false dealing with his brethren in betraying of them under trust; who having made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and had made sale of the interests of the church he had been intrusted with, for a fat benefice and the proud title of a prelate; and withal did recount unto him at length, what judgments of God had fallen upon, and what tragical ends they had made, who had been archbishops of St. Andrews, ever since our Reformation from Popery, (whom he knew he was to succeed unto,) whose usurpations upon the church yet had not such aggravating circumstances as his now had: and after he had laid out his sin fully unto him, he denounced the like judgments, if not greater, to fall upon him and his, if he did not repent, but persist in such courses and ways as he now walked in.

But Mr. Sharp did boldly deny that he had done any thing against his commission. But Mr. Blair told him that they were more upon his secrets than he knew of, and that there was nothing they had charged him with that they could not easily make out. Then he disclaimed all commission he had from them. Upon which Mr. Blair parted shortly with him, uttering these words as his last words unto him, (and indeed they were the last words that ever he spoke unto him,) "That he left him

upon the wrath and vengeance of God." And where Mr. Blair left him, there he is yet to be found, "heaping up wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgments of God." But Mr. Forrest going out with Mr. Blair, thinking to have gone away with him, found his horse conveyed away by Mr. Sharp's means, who used a constraining violence with Mr. Forrest to keep him with him all night; whose kindness was but as the kisses of an enemy, which are deceitful; so that sore against Mr. Forrest's will, he carried him in, and in a manner forcibly detained him with him that night; for knowing the sweetness of Mr. Forrest's disposition, he thought by his feigned kindness so to have born in himself upon him, as thereby to have drawn him into a snare; but Mr. Forrest was better fixt, than that by his flatteries he could be removed from his stedfastness. And although his staying there that night was rather his suffering than his sin, yet he disallowed himself as much therein as any other could do; for as he had little peace in his abode there that night, so what he met with on the morrow from Mr. Sharp, made him many a time wish he had been in another place; for Mr. Sharp coming in unto him in the morning, as he supposed from his devotion, where instead of serenity and calmness of spirit that such an exercise might have induced, he found him under a great perturbation, and that he was more affected with fury and rage, than with any other passion; and it seems reflecting on what Mr. Blair had spoken to him the night before, his conscience was so galled and irritate thereby, that most ab-

ruptly he uttered these words to Mr. Forrest, Was there ever heard such peremptory and positive speaking as Mr. Blair had last night? it was unsufferable, it was intolerable; tell him from me, says he, he shall not stay long in that place: he meaned in St. Andrews, which was the archbishop's seat. And indeed he was as good as his word, for in a short time thereafter, Mr. Blair (foreseeing the sufferings and trials that the church was like to fall under, through the introduction of prelacy) was labouring by his doctrine to strengthen his hearers against a defection from the truth, and their sworn duty, notwithstanding of what sufferings they might meet with in adherence to the same: and therefore took for his text the 14 verse of the 3d chapter of the first Epistle of Peter, "But and if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye." And in prosecution of his doctrine, he proponed a question, Whether suffering for Christ's government in his house, was a suffering for righteousness' sake? Which he answered affirmatively, and gave the grounds and reasons thereof. Which being heard by one Mr. William Barclay, who resided at St. Andrews, who had been a minister, but was deposed many years before that for malignancy and compliance with Montrose: although before these times, there was no great hazard that this man should have told any tales he heard in the pulpit, for he used commonly to sleep as sound in time of sermon as if he had been in his bed, although he was an ordinary hearer of Mr. Blair, Mr. Rutherford, and Mr. Wood, whose powerful preaching did never pierce his ear, far less his heart; but after he saw

the times begin to change, then he begins to rouse himself up, to be a watchful captor, rather than hearer of this worthy man; lying in watch to catch, what by a perverse construction and false representation he might make use of, rather to the preacher's hurt and prejudice, than his own edification. So that presently after this sermon, he goes down to Craile to Mr. Sharp, and informs him, that Mr. Blair had preached seditiously against his Majesty's government in the church; which was gladly received of Mr. Sharp. And although such men as Mr. Barclay might have expected favour enough of Mr. Sharp, who being to thrust out the whole godly ministry in this church, was to fill their rooms with such as he and worse; yet this service doth engage him to hasten his reposition to the kirk of Falkland, out of which he had been justly deposed in our best times: and although there was another placed in his room, who conformed, yet he transported him to make room for this man. And although Sharp had resolved to eject Mr. Blair out of St. Andrews, as we have heard, (knowing he could not establish his kingdom of darkness in that place, until he had put out this great light: for the holiness, deepness of knowledge in the things of God, gravity, authority and faithfulness, of that excellent servant of Jesus Christ, was no less tormenting than hateful unto this unclean beast, who thought his seat was polluted until he had purged out this worthy man, and all such therein, who could have no fellowship with his unfruitful works of darkness, but would rather reprove them,) yet he was glad of this occasion, whereby he thought

he should get Mr. Blair removed from St. Andrews, and himself should not be seen in it, nor the odium thereof lie upon him; resolving not to appear as an open accuser, but rather to act as a secret informer and instigator against Mr. Blair, whom now he caused to be summoned before the Committee of Estates for seditious preaching. And how Mr. Blair was handled there, through Sharp's procurement, is notourly known; who although there was found nothing proven against him, worthy of any punishment, yet to make the archbishop's seat void against his entry thereunto, it was found necessary that he should be confined to Innerask, within four miles of Edinburgh. Yet this did not satisfy Mr. Sharp's malice, for if he had gotten his will, Mr. Blair had been indicted of high treason; against which, his innocency should not have been a sufficient defence against the inveterate malice of Mr. Sharp, to the prosecution of which, the times then gave him so much advantage. But Mr. Blair continued under his confinement (which afterwards was changed from Innerask to Kirkaldy, and from that to Couston) until the day of his death; leaving a sweet savour of Christ wherever he came; and to show how contented he was under his sufferings for Christ and the gospel's sake, he used to say, "That he would not change his condition with Sharp's (who then was in his greatest height of power and grandeur) although he might have to the boot, as much gold as might lye betwixt them." But what impressions Mr. Blair had of Sharp at his death, it will appear from what he was heard to utter in prayer to God against him, saying, "Lord,

rub, rub, rub shame upon Sharp;" which may be as well understood to be a prediction as a prayer, considering what a pre-information this holy man had (as at his death he modestly acknowledged) of many things, as well relating the church as particular persons; and with what faith in prayer, we doubt not but he was heard therein, and that it will have its accomplishment more fully; although always since the 1666 year of God, Mr. Sharp's glory has been fading; and we hope shall more and more decay, because he hath him for an adversary, whose glory he hath turned into shame, and who can make his glorious beauty as a fading flower.

But Mr. Sharp having thus prepared his way unto St. Andrews, by emptying his seat of two as eminent ministers of Jesus Christ, as this church ever had. Mr. Rutherford (being confined, and inhibited the exercise of his office in the new college, and the exercise of his ministry before his procurement) is now removed by death; and Mr. Blair being thus removed from his place, as we have heard, Mr. Wood only remained in some exercise of his ministry there still, who, because of the old friendship that was betwixt them, had that favour only, that he was the last of the three that fell under his persecution; whom he does not remove from his ministry until he was installed archbishop, then he took that same course with him that he had done with the other two; and besides, did belie him to the council after his death, although he made not so much of the advantage of the lies he made of him, as of the lies he made unto him; for it was by those he crap into credit and favour

with him, and by his means was brought into estimation with others; which credit promoted him to that trust, by the betraying of which he ruined the church, and raised himself upon the ruins thereof, unto that greatness under which he rather staggers than stands. But oh! ill founded greatness, it must certainly have a fearful fall! Mr. Sharp's next work, we say, was to engage ministers to be fellow bishops with him, although he made sure the primacy unto himself, there being none of the old bishops living but Sydeserf; and we think it will not be much doubted, but he could have made as many bishops as curates, if he had had bishoprics to have offered them. And 'tis as true, that if he could have accumulate and enhanced all the fourteen bishoprics upon himself, and in his own person, we should have had no other bishop but himself, and all others but his dalgats and pensionaries. Always he finds men as covetous and ambitious as himself, and if he had not had the start of them, might have been as far forward in prelatic dignity as he, viz. Mr. Andrew Fairfoull, minister at Dunce, Mr. James Hamilton, minister at Camnethan, Mr. Robert Lighton, at that time principal of the college of Edinburgh, who had some years before left his kirk, pretending the charge of a congregation too great for him, who although they had all taken the covenant themselves, and taken their congregations sworn thereunto, yet when their gain and preferment comes in competition with their conscience and religion, they admit the first, and dismisses the last, accepting these same very offices in the church, that they had lately so solemnly abjured. But these gentlemen are all

fowls of one feather, who having received from Mr. Sharp presentations or patents from his Majesty for their several bishoprics, are now called elected bishops, of such and such Sees; for his Majesty's patent is in place of chaptry election, and all other things; so that now wanting only consecration, and there being no quorum of bishops in Scotland, to give them that, they are presently all upon the wing, and flees up unto London together, there to receive their solemn consecration, which was yet denied them until they received new orders according to the rites of the church of England, passing through all the degrees of orders in that hierarchic church, which upon the matter, was a renunciation of their former ordination received from presbyteries, and a casting and annulling of the ministry of the whole reformed churches, for want of the episcopal ordination. But in the mean time there comes out a proclamation from his Majesty and his council, discharging all Synods, Presbyteries, and Sessions, to sit or meet, or act in matters of ecclesiastic discipline, while they were authorized by the bishops. And so the whole presbyterian government was overturned, and erected upon the basis of a new authority. But now our bishops receiving their consecration in all due solemnity, they hasten as much down again to take possession of their several Seats, Mr. James Sharp is archbishop of St. Andrews, Mr. Andrew Fairfoull is archbishop of Glasgow, Mr. James Hamilton is bishop of Galloway, Mr. Robert Lighton is bishop of Dunblane, who are all pompously installed in their episcopal Seats, by a number of persons for a convoy of the best quality, both noblemen and gentle-

men in the several shires where they resided. And so in the first session of parliament thereafter, there is some noblemen sent to invite them to take their places in parliament, who make up a new part of the first estate of lords in parliament, which consists of lords spiritual and temporal. But this sudden promotion of Mr. Sharp's, does as much lift him up in pride, as he was raised in power and dignity, for by virtue of his primacy in the church, he had the precedency of our whole nobility, dukes, marquises, earls, &c. taking place of the then lord chancellor Glencairn himself, who was the first officer in state in this kingdom, who notwithstanding of what activity he had used for the promoting of him, and these of his order in the church, yet had his fill of him before he died, and at his death signified a great abhorrence at Sharp, crying out in great agony, "that Sharp had separated betwixt him and his king; was like to separate his soul and his body; and O! that he may not separate betwixt my soul and God:" calling earnestly for Mr. Dowglass to be assistant unto him then, which yet providence denied him, Mr. Dowglass not being in that part of the country at the time. But we need not give any other demonstration of the lofty spirit of this prelate, and how drunken he is now with success in his sin, than the sharp reflection he hath on his predecessors, archbishops of St. Andrews, who he said, "had lived fools and died beggars;" measuring his future fortune by his present estate, as if he had now provided against all the changes of a diverse fortune, that God hath subjected man unto; who gads so often about to change his way, not consid-

ering that the curse that had consumed his predecessors, houses, substance, posterity, (who were as wise as himself) might enter into the house of such a false swearer, with a longer roll, and consume the timber and stones thereof; so that the craig, with the high and strong walls that he has now built about it, shall not be able to hold it. And now the man that not long since rode up to London with his cloak-bag behind him, is now to be seen riding in his coach, in great state, and called, my lord, and, his grace, with his purpured lacquays running at his coach, (for he must be of the livery of the whore) and his gentlemen's sons of all qualities. Yet if there be found any who who will go by this proud Haman without capping unto him, he thinks there is so much honour detracted from him, as is not given to him; and salutations (which are in themselves free, and which common civility and the custom of nations does neither oblige unto, than any positive law) he craves as due debt unto his greatness, which he thinks all men should adore; so that if any be upon the high way, shall go by him without a salute, he calls for them, inquires their name, gives it lodging, threatens, and has been sometimes at the lifting the staff to have stricken, (forgetting that a bishop should not be a striker) yea, and his punishment with imprisonment upon this very accompt, of all which there might be instances given; and we make no doubt, but he would more easily dispense with blasphemy against God, than not bowing unto himself, the one touching him far more nearly than the other.

But that he might approve himself a wiser man

than his predecessors, he applies himself vigorously for the improving of his benefice, (being now possessed both of the bishopric and priory of St. Andrews) for the making up of a private fortune; although there was none more ready to celebrate the name and fame of the old bishops sometimes, (for their hospitality, public works, liberal distribution unto the poor) than himself, as having their great revenues originally given unto them, that they might be thus employed, of which they had only a bare administration; but now he thinks it no sacrilege to convert the patrimony of the church for raising the fortune of his family exorbitantly; and not only so, but for maintaining of his luxury and pride; his idol belly consuming more of the church's revenue, than might be a competent maintenance for thirty or forty godly, able, and diligent ministers of the gospel. But now having amassed a great sum of money together, in the space of two years after he was bishop, *per fas et nefas*, he buys Scotscraig, and estate, above fifty chalder of victual, and afterwards buys in some lands about it; and then makes a purchase of Strathern, uear to St. Andrews. Having made this sacrilegious and unjust conquest, with the heavy oppression of many of his vassals and tenants, from whom he did rigorously exact, or rather extort considerable sums of money, that he might secure it, as he thinks, against all future accidents: he takes the disposition of this estate to his son, and infefts him in the same; but what should move the man to take his estate, both in land and money, in the name of his son, and brother Sir William, but the conscience he hath of his own

guilt, that puts him in fear when there is no fear. But whether this shall secure his estate to his children, if he himself should be found guilty of capital crimes, which might infer forfeiture, we shall leave that to the cognition of lawyers; only the divine oracle will hold, "that as the partridge sitteth upon her eggs, and hatcheth them not, so he that gets riches and not by right, shall leave them in the midst of his days, and in the end shall be a fool."

But he is not more intent in building of his own house, than he is taken up in contriving the ruin of the church of God; which he now carries on by giving advice for the framing of an act for casting out all at once the greatest part of the godly ministers in this church; which act is commonly called, The Act of Glasgow, because made there, by Middletoun, who carried along with him to that place a corum of the council, of which Sharp was a principal member, and the chief promoter of that act. But what was the design of making of that act there, the effect whereof might as well have reached these parts as other parts of the country, although made at Edinburgh, where the council usually sat? But if we may be allowed to make this conjecture, we think it will not be found improbable, considering the insolent spirit of this prelate, that it was intended by this fatal throw upon the church, to make this place as memorable thereby, as it was for the overthrow that prelacy got in the same place, by the Assembly at Glasgow, in the year 1638. By this act all ministers that entered to their ministery since the year of God 1649, without presentations from their lawful pa-

trons, are commanded to remove from their several parishes, and not reside within twenty miles thereof, except they get, within such a time, presentations from the patron, and collation from the bishop; which act caused as much desolation among congregations in the church, as St. Bartholomew's day made in England, there being near three hundred ministers ejected thereby, who were forced in the winter time, with their families, to remove far from their kirks, as it was enjoined by that act. But this prelate boasts, he will by this starve the ministers to a conformity, exercising as much cruelty upon their bodies, as upon the people's souls, causing unto the people hereby a famine of the word of the Lord; but what he intends for evil, God has turned it into good; as well making the bread and water of his suffering servants sure unto them, (so that there is never any of them that needed to want a meal of meat, since their maintenance was taken from them, unto which they have had no sorrow added, which yet has been the better sauce than that with which the bishop hath eaten all his dainties) as through their dispersion and scattering, making the sweet savour of his name to be spread abroad through the land, so as thereby the kingdom of Christ hath been not a little promoted, and the prelatic interest as much weakened; for as many as are gained to Christ are lost to them, which has made the prelates in all ages, follow it as their greatest interest, to bear down a lively and powerful ministry, beside which their dead and useless forms cannot stand, which is all they pretend to in religion.

Having come this length, in prosecution of the history of the life of this infamous man, (which yet we should not have thought a subject worthy of our pains, had we not respected the profit that both the church and common wealth might receive therein, who if they cannot be incited to bring him unto condign punishment, for his many and so great crimes, may yet be guarded against the mischiefs still a working and projecting, by this discovery that is here made of him, in which the one half of his wickedness is not told,) we shall proceed no further, seeing his death is not yet come, which is the last period of his life, and shall give compliment unto this our history; which if we shall continue, it would be still current so long as he lives: and therefore having satisfied (as we judge) our design, in bringing him unto his instalment in the archbishopric, which is the most notable period of his life; and from which (we doubt not) he dates his happiness, as others do the church's miseries. We shall there leave him (at least) for the time, although there remains matter enough to debate further upon this subject.

But because we made mention of Isobel Lindsay speaking unto the bishop, and that particularly before the whole congregation in St. Andrews, we think fit to give some account thereof, which shall be as faithfully done as we can, following the best information thereof we could have.

John Wilson, Isobel Lindsay's husband, having bought that house in St. Andrews, which was John Allan's, his brother-in-law, which being a more

convenient house for a change than the house he was at that time dwelling in, he does remove his family thereunto; which was some time after Whitsunday, in the year of God, 1671. But this being the house wherein her child was murdered (as we have heard when she was her sister's taverner, many years before this; she no sooner came into it, but her conscience begins wonderfully to waken up, on her being under such a pressure of spirit, that she could have no rest, neither night nor day, until she had spoken unto the bishop; which she laboured by all means to have resisted, having respect as well unto her own fame, and the peace of the family, (knowing how much she would displease her husband thereby) as the suffering she was like to fall under there-through; but all would not do, she must speak; and not finding access to speak to him more privately, she resolves to take the first opportunity she could have of speaking unto him in the kirk: which fell out, just about the time of his synod sitting, in October, 1671. And it is observable, that divine providence does so order it, and trysts it, that at that very time and place where his curates were met, for strengthening of his authority against the church, they should have this so extraordinary a witness of his wickedness; being called particularly by herself to be witness of what she spoke; that yet if it had no other effect upon them, might be an aggravation of their sin, of continued compliance with this man of sin, who does not only practise, but authorize and patronize sins of one kind and other, and these of the highest nature: but she supposing that the bishop himself

was to preach (which very seldom falls in his hands) at the opening up of this synod, goes into the church, with a resolution to have spoken to him in the pulpit; but finding it was another, she sits silent until the blessing was pronounced, and then she rises up, directing her speech unto the curates, says, "Gentlemen, although I see not many of you here, yet I desire these of you that are here to stay until ye be witness of what I am to speak unto this man:" and then turning about unto the bishop, who was sitting in his seat before her, says she, "this man is a traitor to the holy God in heaven, and has tread the Son of God under feet; done despite unto the spirit of grace, and set up the kingdom of the devil." And then beginning to instance his treacheries done unto herself, she is hurried to the church door by some of the town officers, and goes very peaceably home unto her own house; and leaving the bishop in a great consternation, but he begins to recover his spirits again, whom some would have persuaded him she was distracted; thinking in that case, nothing would be believed she spake. Yet when he reflects upon her words, he finds they are not the words of a person that had lost her wits, being in themselves so weighty and comprehensive; and withal, the conscience he had of his own guilt, made them so pointed, that they pierced to the very quick. Yet he takes two or three days to advise what to do with her, it being very difficult for him what to determine on either hand; for he feared, if he should use severity against her, (except he caused cut out her tongue, which had been done, if the provost had put in

execution his commands) she might confirm all she had said, and add much more unto it.

And on the other hand, if he should inflict no punishment upon her, it would make her the more bold in speaking, and make the thing she should say the better believed; so that fearing the last more than the first, he gives order to the provost of the town, to commit her presently to close prison, until he had advised what further punishment to inflict upon her: which being done accordingly, the provost goes into the tolbooth to examine her, and begins very sharply to objurgate her for her railing and injurious speaking to my Lord St. Andrews, a person of such high dignity in the church, and labours to make her sensible of her crime, and the nature of it, and what punishment she deserved for the same: unto which she gave no other reply but this, "My Lord," says she, "you know not what troubles my conscience; I bare a bairn to this man, and it was put out of the way." But the provost not finding it safe to hear any more of that matter, flung away from her: yet he said to a very credible person, That although he durst not admit of such an accusation, against a person of such quality, yet he doubted nothing of the truth of it; and therefore would willingly have given her a hearing, had it not been for fear of the bishop; which likewise moved him for giving of him satisfaction, to cause the common council of the town to pass an act of banishment against her, out of the town and liberties thereof: which although it was presently put in execution, yet she came presently in again, and lived in her own house

peaceably, through the provost's connivance, until she spake the second time to the bishop in the kirk, which was in November, 1672: having in this interval essayed what she could to have gotten an opportunity of speaking to him; and with that earnestness did she follow this matter, that she goes into Edinburgh, where she thrusts herself into the Bar, before the secret council, and getting a sight of the bishop, her spirit is mightily stirred, and beginning to speak to him in the same terms, as formerly at St. Andrews: but he alleging she was a person distracted, she was immediately thrust out by the Macers. But notwithstanding, she is nothing discouraged from prosecuting her design, but comes home with a resolution to give him another essay in the kirk: God having now so touched her conscience, that she despises shame and death, the loss of means and friends, the dissuasion of the nearest relations, and runs on the greatest dangers, that she might make a discovery of him: by all which we may see, she is specially stirred of God for this very end. But although the awe of her husband, and the threatenings he had used against her, had keeped that fire oft times from breaking forth, that was still burning in her breast, (which to the observation of all, is kindled by a divine hand!) yet now it burst forth the second time more remarkably, at the time we mentioned before: "for on a Lord's day, (the bishop himself being to preach) she goes to the church, so composedly, that her husband had no fear that she should either bring herself or him into danger, by any extraordinary action; but when she sees the bishop in the pulpit, she is won-

derfully moved, and in the time of the psalms and prayer, she is under a great agitation of spirit! and had much ado to keep herself from speaking; sometime she would rise, and look the bishop broad in the face, and hold up her bible unto him, and shake it, (intimating, that that word of God he had so perverted, should judge him! and that name of God he had so much prophaned, should be vindicate upon him!) which he perceiving, made him fall in very much fear and confusion; so that he had very much ado to come through his prayer, although it was but a set form. And these that were about her, got her to sit down again, but her spirit was still aloft, being raised with a great fervency against him; so that after he had raised his text, and proceeded but a very little therein, she rises up and interrupts him, and tells him, that another place would set him better, and called him traitor and whoremaster, and worse than we can tell, although not so ill as he deserved: the bishop in the mean time, sunk down in his seat in the pulpit, being mightily astonished, not knowing but the whole people were let loose upon him, because of the hubbub and confusion that was in the church, his pale face bewraying his fearful heart." And it is observable, that in the first sermon he had at St. Andrews, after he was bishop, he said, "he trembled to think what had been uttered in that pulpit;" he meaned by the godly man he had ejected; which being reported to Mr. Blair, who was then living, he said no more, but this, "That he should tremble better yet." Which then might have been seen in part to be made good; although his greatest trembling

is yet to come. Then he but affected a trembling, that he might affect the people with a horror of that doctrine, which is according to godliness; now he trembles in earnest, in that same pulpit in which he had uttered so many blasphemies against God and his truth; being forced to sit and hear his sin charged upon him, before so many witnesses. But the provost of the town, (not the provost we mentioned before, who was then dead) to show his zeal for the bishop's service, supplies the place of an officer, leaps over his seat at the broad-side, for haste, and takes her by the arm, and hurries her out of the kirk, (and having left his hat behind him) leads her to the tolbooth bare-headed: but whether herein he did her more injury than honour, we leave it to others to determine. But she being removed, the commotions that were among the people, were sooner quieted, than these that were in the bishop's own breast; for he could never recollect himself again to prosecute his text, but in a little time thereafter, was forced to break off in great confusion.

But now Isobel Lindsay being in prison, she is visited by the doctors Comrie, Muir, and Bruce, who deal with her to acknowledge her fault in what she had spoken against his Grace my Lord St. Andrews, and threatens her with the severest punishment, if she should show herself obstinate herein; thinking if they could bring her to this, that might easily engage her for the time, to bridle her tongue better, which now the bishop fears more than the sharpest sword; and indeed if this could have been obtained, it would have satisfied the bishop more,

than the inflicting of any punishment, (except what might have taken away her life) knowing that thereby she would be the more exasperate against him; and that as this sword, which hath reached such a blow unto his fame and honour, might yet wound deeper; so he thought by this means, it might prove the proper cure of that wound that it had given: but all the doctor's rhetoric could not persuade her to repent of what she had done: but to give them some satisfaction, she profest she was not against the government of the church, and that she was an ordinary hearer of them: only she sought that favour of them, that she might be confronted with the bishop, and might speak to him face to face, which if it might be granted, she would accompt it a favour, although she should lay down her life at the cross of St. Andrews after she had done, which, says she, both he and I do well deserve. Which being said, the doctors were silent, being unwilling that she should explain herself further, and so leave her; not having come to search out what might be the grounds and motives of that so extraordinary a fact, and her speaking unto the bishop now twice, and oftener repeated, and that so publicly; it being obvious unto all, that there was something latent and secret in that matter, that was not so well discovered; but their design was rather through threatened punishment to have extorted an acknowledgment of her fault from her, in what she had spoken, that they might thereby have healed the fame of this beast, their head and lord, whom this woman had sorely wounded.

But the bishop finding he could not bridle the

tongue of this woman morally he resolves to do it physically, and more forcibly. For he decerns her head to be put in the branks, which had a bit that was put in her mouth, which so bound down her tongue, that she could not speak; and therewith to stand at the Tron, in the sight of all the people: which was put in execution, the provost himself putting the branks upon her head with his own hand, (for there was no hangman then in the town, and no other person would do it) before she came out of the tolbooth, lest she should speak unto the people more than was fit; he himself leading her by the arm down the tolbooth stairs to the Tron, where she was to stand; and standing beside her, until she had satisfied the time she was to stand there in that posture, and then conveyed her to the port, with the branks still upon her head; securing the bishop from her tongue, so long as she was within the town: and having now renewed the act of banishment against her, that it might be made the more effectual, the provost caused her husband give bond, under the penalty of a great sum, if she should be found within the town, or liberties thereof: so that he was forced to remove his family to Dundee, putting a river betwixt his wife and the bishop; where she remained several years, as intent in prosecuting her design against the bishop, as ever; and for ought we know, does yet so continue. Unto whose censure we may freely submit this relation, who if she give any correction thereof, we are confident it shall not be to the bishop's advantage.

# APPENDIX.

*Containing an Account of a few of the cruel actions of Mr. James Sharp, after his instalment in the Archbishopric of St. Andrews: Together with the manner and circumstances of his death; by one of the Persons concerned in it.*

THE king having erected a High Commission Court to enforce the Laws and Proclamations issued out for the extirpation of Presbytery, the Archbishop presided therein. Upon the bringing any person before them, he was required immediately to answer such questions as were propounded to him, being allowed neither council to advise with, or time to consider; if he answered satisfactorily to one question, they would still find others to ensnare him; if he refused to answer, and pleaded the great law of Nature, *Nemo tenetur seipsum accusare*, they set him by instantly as convict, and proceeded to sentence; if he answered boldly and perhaps smartly, they immediately sentence him for contumacy and disrespect. A minister was sentenced to banishment, for calling the archbishop, Sir, and not, My Lord.

One Mr. Smith, a learned Nonconforming minister, who was brought before them for praying and

preaching to a few of his friends, met privately in a friend's house; they had, it seems, no evidence of the fact, much less any thing to object against what he had spoken.

When he came before the commissioners, he did not speak disrespectfully at all, but he declined giving the archbishop the title of lord; at which, one of the bench asked him very scornfully, if he knew who it was he was speaking to, and what character he bore? To which he answered, he did know him to be Mr. James Sharp, once a minister, as he himself then was, and that he knew no higher character any christian man could bear, than to be a minister, and ambassador of Jesus Christ. This he spoke, directing his words, to that commissioner who had reproved him, and gave him the titles he he was known by.

This so enraged the archbishop, that he knew not how with violence enough to wreak his malice on the poor man. But to shew his willingness to destroy him, he sentenced him, besides his sentence for conventicling, as they called it, to be led by the hangman to the place in the tolbooth called the thieves'-hole, and there laid in heavy irons, there being a raving creature who was an idiot, and furious, confined in the same place, and left loose with him. Here the godly minister lay some days in danger of being destroyed by the poor demented wretch, who every moment threatened to kill him. But God, that stopped the mouths of Daniel's lions, restrained him, so that he hurt him not. And these merciful judges hearing, that by the grate of this hole which looked to the street, he was relieved

and comforted by the charity and compassion of many good people of the city, many were threatened for relieving him; and at length the poor man was carried away to a place called the iron house, in the same prison; where none could come at him. Here he continued close prisoner, and in irons, for many days. Besides this, they sentenced him for his private preaching to perpetual banishment, to the island of Shetland, the coldest, and most inhospitable of all the Caledonian islands; where his only relief, as to this world, was the society of other blessed sufferers banished thither for the same good cause.

King Charles II. being a prince not naturally inclined to cruelty, had, it seems, some about him, who had taken the freedom to let him know something of the inhumanity and barbarity of the archbishop and his accomplices. Upon which representation he sent down an express order to the council, "That no more should be put to death." Which order the archbishop kept in his pocket, till he had seen the execution of the last nine or eleven of the Pentland men who were condemned.

*Here followeth an Account of the* ARCHBISHOP'S DEATH, *by one of the Persons concerned therein*

WE were (says this person) a poor people, made desperate by the violence of our persecutors; and still more so, for want of opportunity and strength to resist them by force; which in case of such manifest injustice as we daily received, we had very much will to do, and believed was not only lawful, but our duty. And on this principle we acted before at Pentland, and afterward at Bothwell; which we believe were very lawful and justifiable actions; however, it pleased not the Lord to give us success therein. In the pursuit of this opinion, it was proposed at a meeting, whether we being therefore, though supprest by power in a state of war, with our persecutors, who had illegally vowed our extirpation, it were not lawful for us to destroy them by surprise, or by attacking them as well apart as together, wherever we could find them? And it was unanimously agreed, That it was lawful. Next it was proposed, That whereas all appeal to the public justice being denied us; and all remedy against our oppressions, that is to say, such as the civil magistrate ought to yield us, being rendered impossible, we might, and ought endeavour to execute that justice which God himself had denounced against murderers; and which God had by his own law deputed to the next of kin. That the persons here put to death were murdered, nay even butchered many of them, without so much as any pretence to the legal forms, and ordinary

course of justice, being killed in cold blood by the raging soldiers, or by bloody minded persecutors, backed and supported by the said soldiers; and this by mere surprise, and ravenous unguided rage, being equal to assassination, or rather something like being devoured by wild beasts or savages.

That upon such as murdered without law, justice was to be executed without law, and the sword of God was in every injured man's hand to execute the divine justice on such; no justice being also to be had from men, those who bore the sword, not bearing it in vain only, but joining themselves to, protecting, and aiding these murderers, and therefore bearing equal guilt, art and part with them.

This likewise was resolved upon in the affirmative; whereupon we who were then present, and whose souls were fired with zeal for God's glory, resolved with *Phineas* to execute justice on those who had thus lifted up their hand against God's people, wherever they might be found; and to place ourselves in the room and authority of the avenger of blood for our innocent brethren, who were destroyed and cruelly massacred for the cause of God, and the testimony of a good conscience.

In this our zeal, and fortified with considerations as these, five men of our number arming ourselves, placed ourselves in ambush, with design to execute God's justice upon the laird of , a cruel and bloody persecutor of God's people; and who had, not many days before, put to death several of our brethren, in the province of Fife. This was our intent, neither had we at that time any thought

or expectation of any other, when we were surprised with an account from one of our number, who was at a distance, that the arch-enemy of God and his people, the Prelate of St. Andrews, was passing on the road in his coach.

It was immediately suggested to us, that albeit we had missed of the man who we had sought for; yet God had by a wonderful providence delivered the great and capital enemy of his church into our hands; and that it was a visible call to us from heaven not to let him escape. That he had been a notorious persecutor of God's people, and a vile murderer of our brethren; particularly in that, when the King himself sent his commands to the council, in the year 1666, after Pentland rising, that no more should be put to death; which command was sent in writing, directed to the said privy council, and was delivered to the said bishop; yet that he had kept the said written order in his pocket, untill the last ten persons mentioned in this appendix, p. 104, who were then in prison, were put to death; and that now was the time when that scripture was to be executed by them, "he who spilleth man's blood, by man shall his blood be spilt." And that they ought not only to believe that God had delivered him up into their hands; but that if they let him escape, it should be required of them and of their brethren, as in the case of King Ahab, 1 Kings 20. 42. "Because thou hast let go out of thy hand a man, whom I appointed to utter destruction; therefore thy life shall go for his life, and thy people for his people."

Fortified with these principles, and particularly,

with this thought, viz. how wonderfully God had delivered this great enemy into our hand; we resolved that he should not escape. However, one of our number declined acting therein, having a private reason against his bearing part in this work; but not prevailing with us to desist from our resolution, which we thought we had a call from heaven to finish, he withdrew from us, standing at a great distance, so as to have no hand in the action; in which case the hand of God was farther remarkably seen by the consequence: for, that none of us ever fell into the hands of the enemy, or were put to death for this fact, but that one person, viz. Hackston of Rathillet, who really had no share in the work, but refused to join with us therein as before.

Having resolved, as is said, that this enemy should not escape the judgment of God by our hands; we rode after him, and coming up to the coach, quickly stopped the same, and disarming his servants, we gave him notice of our resolutions, letting him know his offences; and in serious terms exhorting him to give glory to God, by confessing his guilt, and that he would repent heartily for the wickedness of his ways, and the innocent blood that he had shed; for that, now his time was come to die for the same.

It was some time ere we could convince him, that we were in earnest resolved to put him to death; and he seemed to smile at what we had said about the wickedness of his life: his daughter also who was with him in the coach, railed on us with much evil language. But thereafter, causing her to come forth of the coach, we let him know, that

his moments were very few; that we would wait for him yet a little while, and exhorted him not to trifle with his soul, but to call upon God for mercy: after which, seeing us indeed in earnest, he began to intreat for life: but we soon let him know, we were not to be put by our purpose for any entreaties that could be used, and that there was no mercy to be shown to him, who had shown no mercy. Hereupon he began to think of death. "But (here just the words of the person who related the story) behold! God did not give him the grace to pray to him without the help of a book." But he pulled out of his pocket a small book, and began to read over some words to himself, which filled us with amazement and indignation. However, waiting some time, and then calling again upon him, to commend his soul to God's mercy, for that he should immediately die; we fired upon him with our pistols: when finding he was not yet dead, and remembering that it had been reported, that he had used sorcery, in order to defend his body, and that he was invulnerable; and withal to rid him of life, with as little torture as we might, we slew him with our swords, and departed.

This relation of the action coming from the mouth of one of the actors, has not only that authority for its currency; but even seems in itself to be the most consonant with all the other accounts of it which have been made public; and is believed to be a very just and faithful account, both of the killing the bishop, and of the circumstances going before it.

Finis.

# DESCRIPTION

OF

# The Western Isles

OF

# SCOTLAND,

CALLED

# HYBRIDES.

---

## By Mr. Donald Monro,

HIGH DEAN OF THE ISLES,

*WHO TRAVELLED THROUGH THE MOST OF THEM*

*IN THE YEAR* 1594.

---

Glasgow;

PRINTED FOR JOHN WYLIE & CO.

*By R. Chapman.*

1818.

# DESCRIPTION

OF THE

# WESTERN ISLES

OF

# SCOTLAND.

FIRST in the Ireland seas, fornent the poynt of Galloway, neirest betwixt Scotland, England, and Ireland, lyes the first iyle of the saids isles, called in Latin tongue Mona and Sodora, in English Man, in Erishe Manain, whilks sometime, as auld historiographers sayes, was wont to be the seat first ordynit by Fynan king of Scottis to the priest and the philosophers called in Latine Druides, in English Culdeis and Kildeis, that is, worshippers of God, in Erish Leid Draiche, quhilks were the first teachers of religion in Albion, quherinto is the cathedrall of the bishop of Man and Isles dedicate, in the honour of St. Peter the apostle. This ile is twenty-four myles lang and eight myles braid, with twa castellis.

2. ELSAY. Northwart from this ile of Man, sixty myles off, layes Elsay, an iyl of ane myle lange,

quherin is ane grate high hill, round and roughe, and ane heavin, and als aboundance of Soland geise, and ane small poynt of ane nesse, quherat the fishing bottis lyis; for in the same ile is verey good killing, ling, and uther whyte fishes. Fornent this ile layes Carrick on the southeast pairt, Ireland on the southwest pairt, and the landes of Kintyre on the west and northwest pairt; the said Elsay being neir hand midsea betwixt the said marches.

3. ARRAN. Be north or northeist fra this ile, twenty-four myles of sea, lies Arran, ane grate ile, full of grate montains and forrests, good for hunting, with pairt of woods, extending in lenthe from the Kyle of Arran to Castle Dounan southwart to twenty-four myles, and from the Kyle of Drumdouin to the Ness of Kilbride, sixteen myles of breadthe, inhabit onlie at the sea coasts. Herein are thre castils; ane callit Braizay, pertening to the Earle of Arran; ane uther auld house callit the castle of the heid of Lochrenasay, pertyning likeways to the said Earle; and the third callit castle Dounan, pertaining to ane of the Stuarts of Bute's blood, callit Mr. James; he and his bluid are the best men in that countrey. In Arran is a loche callit Lochrenasay, with three or four small waters: two paroch kirks, the ane callit Kilbride, the uther callit Kylmure. Fornent this ile layes the coste of Kyle in the east and southeist, be ten or twelve myles of sea in the north, Bute, be eight myles of sea in the west Skibness, pertening to the Erle of Argyle.

4. FLADA. 5. MOLASS. Upone the shore of this iyle lyes Flada, ane little iyle full of cunings,

with ane uther little ile callit the yle of Molass, quherin there was foundit by Johne, Lord of the iles, ane monastry of friars, which is decayit.

6. Buitt. The yle of Buitt lyes, as we have said before, eight myles of sea to the northeist of Arran, ane mayne iyle, eight myle lange from the north to southe, and four myle braid fra the west to the eist, very fertyle ground, namelie for aitts, with twa strenthes; the ane is the round castle of Buitt, callit Rosay of the auld, and Borrowstone about it callit Buitt. Before the town and castle is ane bay of sea, quhilk is a gude heavin for ships to ly upon ankers. That uther castle is callit the castle of Kames, quhilk Kames in Erishe is alsmeikle as to say in English the bay Castle. In this ile ther is twa paroche kirks, that ane southe callit the kirk of Bride, the uther northe in the Borrowstone of Buitt, with twa chappells, ane of them above the towne of Buitt, the uther under the forsaid castle of Kames. On the north and northwest of this ile, be half myle of sea, lyes the coast of Ergyle; on the east syde of it the coast of Cuninghame, be six myle of sea.

7. Inche Mernoche. On the west southwest of it lyes ane little iyle callit Inch Mernocke, twa myle frae sea, low mayne ground, weill inhabit and manurit, ane myle lange and half myle breadthe.

8. Cumbra. On the eist and southeist lyes ane yle callit Cumbray, inhabit and manurit, three myle in lenth and ane myle in breadthe, with ane kirk callit Sanct Colmis kirke.

9. Cumbray Dais. Besides this lyes ane iyle

callit Cumbray of the Dais, because there is many Dayis intill it.

10. AVOYN. Before the south poynt of the promontory of Kyntyre, lyes be ane myle of sea, ane iyle neire ane myle lange, callit the iyle Avoyn, quhilk iyle is obtained that name fra the armies of Denmark, quhilkis armies callit it in their leid Havin. It is inhabit and manurit, and guid for shipps to lay one ankers.

11. CARRITH SKEATHE. Fornent this iyle, one the shore of Kintyre, lays ane iyle with a castle, namet Carrick Skeath, with ane little water, quherin is ane guid havin for small bottis.

12. RACHLAIUN. On the southwest frae the promontory of Kyntyre, uppon the coast of Irland, be four myle to land, layes an iyle callit Rachlaine, pertaining to Irland, and possessit thir money zeires by Clan Donald of Kyntyre, four myles longe and twa myle braid, guid land, inhabit and manurit.

13. CARAY. Upon the northwest coist of Kyntyre, be four myle of sea to the same, lyes ane little iyle, with a chapel in it, callit Caray, guid for quhite fishes, abundance of cunnings, inhabit and manurit; mair nor ane myle lange and ane haffe myle braid.

14. GIGAY. At the heid of the iyle Caray, there fra northeist, lyes ane iyle callit Gigay, six myle lange, an myle and an half myle breidth, with ane paroche kirke, guid fertile mainland, it has therein abundance of eddirs. The auld thane of Gigay should be laird of the same, callit M'Neill of Gigay, and now it is possessit by the Clandonald. Streitest at the shore of Kintyre, from south west to northeist in length, four myle of sea from Kyntyre.

15. DURAY. Nairest that iyle layes Duray, ane ather fyne forrest for deire, inhabit and manerit at the eoist syde, part be Clandonald of Kyntyre, pairt be Mac Gullayne of Douard, pairt be M'Gellayne of Kinlochbuy, pairt be M'Duffithie of Colvansay, ane iyle of twenty-four myle of length, lyand from the southwest to the northeist twale myle of sea from Gigay above written, and ane myle from Ila, quhar is twa loches, meetand uthers throughe mide iyle, of salt water, to the lenthe of ane haff myle; and all the deire of the west pairt of that forrest, will be cahit be tainchess to that narrow entry, and the next day callit west againe, be tainchess through the said narrow entres, and infinit deire slaine there, pairt of small woods. This iyle, as the ancient iylanders alledges, should be callit Deiray, taking the name from the Deire imorne Leid, quhilk has given it that name in auld times. In this iyle there is twa guid and save raids for shipps, the ane callit Lubnalierie, and the uther Loche Terbart, forment others. The greatest hills in this iyle are chieffle Bencheelis, Bensenta, Corben, Benannoyre in Ardlaysay; ane chappel, sometime the paroch kirke Kiternadill. The watter of Easay ther, the watter of Udergan, the watter of Glongargister, the waters of Knockbraik, Lindill, Caray, Anambilley; all thir waters salmond slaine upon them. This iyle is full nobell coelts, with certaine fresche water Loches, with meikell of profit.

16. SKARBAY. Neiras this iyle, be twa myle, lyes ane iyle called Skarbay. Betwixt thir twa iyles ther runnes ane streame, above the power of all sailing and rowing, with infinit dangers, callit

Corybrekan. This stream is aught myle lang, quhilk may not be hantit bot be certain tyds. This Skarbay is four myles lange from the west to the eist, and an myle breadth, ane high rough yle, inhabit and manurit, with some woods in it.

17. VELICHE. Niarest the iyle of Skarbay layes ane iyle, called in Erish Ellan Veliche, unto the northeist.

18. GILBRASTOL. Narrest this lays the iyle Gilbrastoll, a very little iyle.

19. LUNGAY. Narrest to the iyle of Gilbrastol lays the iyle called Lungay.

20. FIDLACHAILLE. Narrest the iyle Lungay, thers ane iyle callit Fidlachaille.

21. FIDLAVIROW. Narrest the iyle of Fidlachaille ther layes ane iyle, callit in Erische Fidlavirow.

22. GAROWHELLACH SHEAIN. Narrest the iyle Fidlavirow ther layes an iyle, in Eriche namit Garowhellach Skean.

23. GAROWHILLACH-NANRONOW. Narrist to this forsaid iyle layes ther ane rockie knobe, namit in Erische Garowhillach-Nanronow.

24. NANAOSE. Narrist to this iyle of Garowhellach-Nanronow layes ther a verey little iyle, callit in Erische Eluche Nanaose.

25. CULIBRENYN. Narrest to the iyland Nanaose layes ther the small iylland, callit in the Erische Leid Culibrenyn.

26. DUNCHONILL. Dunchonill, ane iyle so namit from Conal Kernache, ane strenth, wich is alsmeike as to say in Englishe, ane round castle.

27. MADIE. Ellan Madie, in Erishe, layes be-

twixt Lungay, and being callit in Englishe the Wolfiis iyle.

28. BELNACHNA. Narrest the Wolfiis iyle layes ane iyllane, callit in Erische Leid-Ellan-Belnachna, quharin ther is fair skailzie aneuche.

29. VICKERAN. Narrest to the iyle of Belnachna layes the small iyle of Vickeran.

30. NAGAWNWA. Hard on the iyle Vyckeran layes ther a small iyland, namit in Erische Ellan-Nagaruwa.

31. LUNGE. Lunge, three myle of lenthe, twa pairt myle of breadthe, with a paroch kirk, guid main land, inhabit and manurit, guid for store and corn. Its possist be M'Gillayne of Doward, in feu fra the earl of Ergile. It is a havin sufficient for Highland galeyis in it, layand from the southwest to northeist in lenthe.

32. SEILL. Narrest this iyle layes Seill, thre myle of lenthe, ane half myle breidth, leyand from the southwest to the northest, inhabit and manurit, guid for store and corne, pertaining to the Erl of Ergyle.

33. SEUNAY. Narrest this iyle of Seill layes the iyle Seunay, twa myle in lenthe, and half myle in breadthe from southwest to northeist, inhabit and manurit, guid for gersing store, and pertaining to the Erle of Ergyle.

34. SKLAITT. Narrest Seunay layes ther a litle iyle, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Sklaitt, quherein ther is abundance of skalzie to be win.

35. NAWISSOGE. Narrest this iyle layes the small ile of Nawissogu, in Erish callit Ellan Nawissogu e.

36. EISDCALFE. Narrest this layes ther the iyle Eisdcalfe, namit in the Erische Leid Ellan Eisdcalfe.

37. INCHE KENYTH. Narrest this iyle layes ane iylland, namit Inche Kenyth.

38. INCHIAN. Narrest this iyle layes an iylland, namit in Erische Leid Ellan Inchian.

39. UDERGA. Narrest this forsaid iyl of Inchian layes ane uther verey small rock, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Uderga.

40. KING'S IYLE. Narrest to the iyle Uderga layes ane iyle, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Reigh, that is in English the King's isle.

41. BLACK ISLE. Narrest to the King's iyle layes ane isle, or rather a gráte craig, callit in Erish Leid Ellan Duff, in English the Black isle.

42. KIRKE IYLE. Narrest the Blacke iyle layes ther ane iyle, callit in Erisch Leid Nahagleis, and in English the Kirke iyle.

43 CHREARACHE. Narrest to this Kirk ile layes the iyle Chrearache.

44. ARDE. Narrest to Chrearache layes there ane iyle, callit in the Erische Leid Ellan Arde, in English the Highe iyle.

45. LAICH ILE. Narrest to the Arde layes ther ane iyle, callit in Erisch Leid Ellan Esill, in English the Laiche iyle.

46. GREINE IYLE. Narrest this Laiche ile layes ane iyle namit in Erish Leid Glassellan, that is in English the Green yland.

47. HEDDIR IYLE. Narrest the Green yle layes the yile which in the Erish is namit Freuch Ellan, or the Heddir yland.

48. HASIL IYLE. Narrest the Heddir iyle layes ther another, which in the Erish is callit Ellan-na-Crawiche.

49. GATIS IYLES. Narrest the Hasil iyle layes ane rockie scabrous iyle, callit in the Erishe Leid Ellan Nagonre, which in English is the Gaytis ile.

50. CONINGS ILE. Narrest to the Gaytis iyle layes ther a verey pretty little sandy ile, callit in the Erish Leid Ellan Nagenin, which in English is the Conings ile.

52. IDYLE IYLE. Narrest the Conings iyle layes the iyle callit be the Erish Ellan Dravin, that is the Idyle iyle.

52. EISELL. Narrest the Idyle iyle layes ther a laiche small iyle, namit by the Erisch Ellan Eisell, or the Laich iyle.

53. URIDITHE. Narrest to the aforesaid iyland layes the ile of the Erisch themselves, called Uridithe.

54. LISMOIR. Lismoir, ane iyle quher leid ure is, fornent Douard. This iyle is four myle lang, with ane paroche kirke in it.

55. ILA. Nar this forsaid iyle, on the west side of it, layes Ila, ane ile of twentie mile lenthe from the north to the south, and sixteen myle in breadth from the eist to the west, fertil, fruitful, and full of natural grassing, with maney grate diere, maney woods, faire games of hunting beside everey toune, with ane watter callit Laxay, wherupon maney salmon are slaine, with ane salt water loch callit Lochegunord, quherin runs the water of Gyinord, with high sandey bankes, upon the quhilk bankes upon the sea lyes infinit selccheis, whilkis are slain with

doges learnt to the same effect. In Ila is meikle lead ure in Mochyills. In this iyle there is ane guid raid for schipps, callit in Erische Polmoir, and in English the Mechell puill; this layes at ane toune callit Lanlay Vanych. Ane uther raid layes within Ellan Grynard, callit in English the isle at the poynt of the ness; the raid is callit Leodannis. Within this iyle ther is sundrie freshe water lochis, sic as Lochmoyburge, wherein ther layes an iyle perteining to the Bishopes of the iyles; the loch of Ellan Charrin, quherin ther is ane iyle pertyning to M'Gillane of Doward; Loch Cherossa, with ane iyle perteining to the abbot of Colmkill. In this iyle there is strenths castells; the first is callit Dunowaik, biggit on ane craig at the sea side, on the southeist part of the countery pertaining to the Clandonald of Kintyre; second is callit the castle of Lochgurne, quhilk is biggit in ane iyle within the said fresche water loche far fra land, pertaining of auld to the Clandonald of Kintyre, now usurped be M'Gillayne of Doward. Ellan Forlagan, in the middle of Ila, ane faire iyle in fresche water.

56. EARNE ISLE. At the mouth of Kyle Ila, betwixt it and Duray, lyes ane ile, callit in Erische Leid Ellan Charne, in English the iyle of Earne. Her begin wee to circkell Iyla, sune gaittis aboute with litle iyles.

57. HESSIL IYLE. Narrest this southwardes layes an iyle, callit in Erish the Leid Ellan Natravie, in English the Hessil iyle.

58. MULMOYRIS IYLE. Narrest that, at the said shore of Ila, layes there ane litle iyle, callit Ellan M'luray, callit in English Mulmoryis iyle.

59. Ofrum. Narrest this, at the said shore, southwart, lyes that iyle, callit in the Erische Ellan Ofrum.

60. Brydes iyle. Narrest to this, at the said shore, southwart, layes that iyle, which the Erische name Ellan Birde, in English Brydes iyle.

61. Cors Ker. Narrest this, at the said shore, layes ane litle iyle, by the Eriche callit Cors Ker, that is, the Stay Skarey or craige.

62. Eisilache. Narrest to this is ther a small iyle, at the said shore of Ila, which the Eriche call Ellan Eisilache, that is the Liche iyle.

63. Imerska. Narrest this layes the litle island Imerska.

64. Bethey. Narrest to the iyle Imerska layes that iyle, which the Erische name Elan Bethey.

65. Tisgay. Narrest this layes, at the south cost of Ila, thir is ane iyle, callit by the Erische Tisgay, ane myle of lenthe guid maineland, and ane kirk in it; very guid it is for sheep and for fishing.

66. Scheipis iyle. Narrest this lays Ellan Nakerath, by the Eirische so called, and in Englische the Scheipis iyle, quhilk is verey guid for the same, and for corn also.

67. Myresnypes iyle. Narrest this, to the southwarte, layes ther ane iyle, by the Erishe namit Ellan na Naoske, in Englicshe the Myresnypes iyle.

68. Ness poynte iyle. Narrest this layes ther ane ysle, by the Erishe nameit in their Leide Ellan, that is the yle at the west poynt.

69. Lyart iyle. Narrest this layes Leach Ellan, Ryndnahard, by the Erishe namit sa, in Englische namit the Lyart iyle.

70. TAIRSKERAY. Narrest to this layes ane iyle, by Erische themselves called Tairskeray.

71. ACHNARRA. Narrest to Tairskeray layes the iyle namit Achnarra.

72. GRAIT IYLE. Narrest this layes that iyle, by the Erische namit Ellan Moire, that is the great iyle, guid for store and pasturage.

73. THE IYLE OF THE MAN'S FIGURE. Narrest to the grate iyle lyes that which the Erische namit Ellancalffe, callit in Englishe the iyle of Man's figure.

74. JHONE'S IYLE. Narrest this layes Ellan Ean, callit in Englishe Jhone's ile.

75. STAKBEADES. Narrest to this layes that iyle that the Erische calls Stackbeades.

76. ONERSAY. Narrest this, at the west poynt of Ilay, lyes ane iyle, callit by the Erische Ellan Onersay, ane myle in lenthe. It hath ane paroch kirke, and is verey guid for fishing, inhabit and manurit, with ane right dangerous kyle and stream callit Corey Garrache; na man dare enter in it bot at ane certain tyme of the tyde, or ellis he will perish. This iyle layes in lenth from the southeist to the northwest.

77. MERCHANDS IYLE. Narrest this, on the northwest coist of Ila, lyes an iyle, callit by the Erische Ellan Kenyth, that is the merchands iyle.

78. USABRAST. Narrest this, on the foresaid northwest coist of Ila, lyes an iyle, callit Usabrast, good for grass and fishing.

79. TANEFTE. Narrest this, on the north coist of Iyla, lyes ane iyle, nameit Ellan Taneste.

80. NESE. Narrest the same, on the north coist

of Ila, beside the entresse of Lochgrunord, layes ane iyle, called by the Erish Ellan-nese, with ane kirke in it. This iyle is half ane myle in lenthe, fair maynland, inhabit and manurit, guid for fishing.

81. VEBSTER. Narrest this iyles lyes ther ane, callit by the Erische themselves Ellan Nabaney, that is the Vebster's iyle.

82. ORNANSAY. North from Ilay layes ane iyle callit Ornansay, it is twa myle lange, and neire alls meikell in breidth, quherin ther is ane monastery of chanons, mayne laiche land, full of hairs and foulmarts, with convenient havens for Heyland galeys, and shald at the shores. It lays eight miles of sea north from Ila.

83. Beside this iyle Ornansay layes ane uther ile lesse then it, callit by the Irische Ellan Namuche, half ane myle lang, which is guid for swyne and alse uther bestiall.

84. COLNANSAY. Northward from the iyle of Ornansay, be ane half myle of sea, lyes ane ile, callit Colnansay, seven myle lange from the northeist to the southwest, with twa myle bredthe, ane fertile ile guid for quhit fishing. It hath ane paroch kirke. This ile is bruikit be ane gentle capitane, callit M'Duffyhe, and pertened of auld to Clandonald of Kyntyre.

85. MULL. Twelfe myle northward from the iyle of Colnansay lyes the iyle of Mull, ane grate rough ile, noch the les it is fertile and fruitful. This ile contains in lenth from the northeist to the southweste twenty-four myles, and in breid from the eist southeist to west northwest uther twenty-

four myles, with certain woodes, maney deire, and verey fair hunting games, with many grate mertines and cunnings for hunting, with a guid raid fornent Colmkill, callit Pollaisse. There is sevin paroche kirks within this iyle, and thre castles, to wit the castle of Doward, a strenthey place, bigged on a craige at the sea syde; the castle of Lochbowy, pertaining to M'Gillayne of Lochbowy; the castle of Arose, quhilk in former time pertinet to the Lord of the iyles, and now is bruked be M'Gillayne of Doward. In this ile there is twa guid fresche waters, ane of them are callit Ananva, and the water of Glenforsay, full of salmond, with uther waters that has salmond in them, but not in sic aboundance as the twa forsaid waters. This ile hath alsa salt water loches, to wit, Loch Ear, ane little small loche, with guid take of herringes: this loche layes in the southwest of the countrey. Then is Loch Fyne, quherin ther is a guid take of herrings. Northwest fra this loche, lyes Loche Seaforte, guid for the herring fishing. Lykwayes on the east pairt of the countrey layes ane loche, callit Lochepetit. Narrest this loche, in the southe southeist, layes Lochbowy, a fair braid loche, quherin there is grate take of herring and uther fishings. As als within this ile ther is twa freshe water loches; the ane is callit Loche Strathsenaban, with an ile in it, callit by the Erische Ellan Strathsenaban; the uther fresche water loche is callit Lochebaa, with an iyle therein. Thir iyles are baith strenthe and inhabit. This iyle pertains pairtly to M'Gillayne of Doward, pairtly to M'Gillayne of Lochbowy, pairtly to M'Kynnoun, and pairtly to the Clandonald

of auld. This iyland layes but four myle from the firme land of Morwarne.

86. THE DOW IYLE. At the southwest shore of the ile of Mull, lyes ane little ile, by the Erische namit Ellan-chane, that is the Dow illyand, inhabit, half a myle lange, fruitfull for corne and gressing, with ane havin for Heighland bottis.

87. ERRAY. Northwest from this ile layes ane ile, namit by the Erische Ellan Erray, ane iyle of halffe myle lange and halffe myle braid, guid main land, inhabit and manurit, fruitfull of corne and pastorage, with abundance of fisching.

88. COLMKILL. Narrest this, be twa myles of sea, layes the ile the Erische callit I-colm-kill, that is, Sanct Colm's ile, ane faire mayne ile of twa myle lange and maire, and ane myle braid, fertill, and fruitfull of corne and store, and guid for fishing. Within this ile there is a monastery of mounckes, and ane uther of nuns, with a paroche kirke, and sundrie uther chapells, dotat of auld by the kings of Scotland, and be Clandonald of the iyles. This abbay forsaid was the cathedrall kirk of the bishops of the iyles, sen the tyme they were expulsed out of the ile of Man by the Englishmen; for within the ile of Man was ther cathedrall kirk and living of auld, as I have already said in the description of that ile. Within this ile of Colmkill, there is ane sanctuary also, or kirkzaird, callit in Erische Religoran, quhilk is a very fair kirkzaird, and weill biggit about with staine and lyme. Into this sanctuary ther is three tombes of staine, formit like littie chapels, with ane braid gray marble or quhin staine in the gavill of ilk ane of the tombes. In the

staine of the ane tombe there is wretten in Latin letters, *Tumulus Regum Scotiæ*, that is, The tombe ore grave of the Scotts Kinges. Within this tombe, according to our Scotts and Erische cronikels, ther layes fortey-eight crouned Scotts kings, through the quhilk this ile hes been richlie dotat be the Scotts kings, as we have said. The tombe on the south syde forsaid hes this inscription, *Tumulus Regum Hyberniæ*, that is, The tombe of the Irland kinges; for we have in our auld Erische cronickells, that ther wes foure Irland kinges eirdit in the said tombe. Upon the north syde of our Scotts tombe, the inscriptione beares, *Tumulus Regum Norwegiæ*, that is, The tombe of the kings of Norroway; in the quhilk tombe, as we find in our ancient Erishe cronickells, ther layes eight kings of Norroway, and als we find, in our Erishe cronickells, that Coelus king of Norroway commandit his nobils to take his bodey and burey it in Colmkill, if it chancit him to die in the iles; bot he was so discomfitit, that ther remained not so maney of his armey as wald burey him ther; therefor he wes eirded in Kyle, after he stroke ane field against the Scotts, and was vanquisht be them. Within this sanctuary also lyes the maist pairt of the Lords of the iles, with their lineage. Twa Clan Lynes with their lynage, M'Kynnon and M'Guare with ther lynages, with sundrie uthers inhabitants of the hail iles, because this sanctuarey wes wont to be the sepulture of the best men of all the iles, and als of our kings, as we have said; becaus it was the maist honorable and ancient place that was in Scotland in thair dayes, as we reid.

89. Soa. At the southwest end of this ile of Colmkill, layes ane ile callit Soa, quherin ther is infinit number of wyld fowels nests. It is half ane myle in lenthe, verey guid for sheepe. It pertains to Colmkill.

90. Naban. On the southeist syde of the yland of Colmkill, ther layes ane ile, callit in Erishe Ellan Naban, that is the Woemens ile. It is full of hedirr, guid for store and fishing. It pertains to Colmkill.

91. Moroan. On the north northest end of Colmkill, lyes ane little ile, by the Erishe namit Ellan Moroan, ane little laiche maine sandie ile, full of bent and guid for sheepe. It pertains to Colmkill.

92. Reringe. On the north syde of Colmkill layes ther ane litel iyle, by the Erishe namit Ellan Reringe, ane profitable ile, yielding verey grate plentey of wyld fowls eggs, and guid for fishing, perteining to Colmkill.

93. Inche Kenzie. On the north and north-northeist of Colmkill, lyes ane iyle, be twalve myles of sea till within the entres of Lochseaford forsaid, callit Inch Kenzie, half ane myle in lenthe, and not fully half a myle in breadthe, a fair ile, fertill and fruitful, inhabit and manurit, full of cunings about the shores of it, with a paroch kirk, the maist part of the parochin being upon the mayne shoar of Mull, being onlie ane half myle distant from the said ile, and the haill parochin of it pertains to the prioress of Colmkill.

94. Eorsay. Within this iyle of Inch Kenzie, in the said Loche of Seaforte, be ane myle of sea,

lyes ane ile callit Eorsay, ane fertile ile, full of corne and grassing, mair than a myle lang, pertaining to the prioress of Colmkill.

95. CALFA. Upon the narrest coste of Mull lyes ane iyle callit Calfe, ane myle of lenthe, full of woods, with ane sufficient raid for shipes, perteyning to M'Gillayne of Doward.

96. THE GLASSE ILES. Befor the castel of Aross lyes ther twa iyles, the ane callit by the Erishe Glassmoire, the other Glassbeg, and in the southeist fra that, throughe the Kyle of Mull, lyes the said twa iles, perteyning to M'Gillayne of Doward.

97. ARDIN RIDER. From the twa Glass iles to the southeist lyes an ile, callit by the Erishe Ardin Rider, that is, the ile of the Knightsness, perteining to M'Gillayne of Doward.

98. ELLAN MADIE. Southward from Doward lyes ane ile, upon the shore side, namit Ellan Madie by the Erishe. It is very guid for store, being bentey. It pertains to M'Gillayne of Doward.

99. ELLAN MOIR. Southwest from Ellanmadie, upon the shore of Mull, lyes ane ile, callit by the Erishe Ellan-moir, guid for store and for fishing, pertening to M'Gillayne of Lochbuy.

100. RONIN. Sixteen myle northwast from the ile of Coll, lyes ane ile callit Ronin ile, of sixteen myle lang, and six in bredthe in the narrowest, ane forest of heigh mountains, and abundance of litle deire in it, quhilk deir will never be slane doune-with, but the principal saitts man be in the height of the hill, because the deir will be callit upwart, ay be the Tainchell, or without tynchell they will pass upwart perforce. In this ile will be gotten

about Britane als many wild nests upon the plane mure as men pleasis to gadder, and yet by resson the fowls hes few to start them except deir. This iyle lyes from the west to the eist in lenth, and pertains to M'Kenabrey of Colla. Maney solan geise are in this ile.

101. THE HORSE IYLE. Be foure of sea toward the southeist, layes ane little ile, half ane myle lang, callit by the Eriche Ellan-naneache, that is in Englishe the Horse ile, guid for horse and uther store, perteining to the Bishope of the iles.

102. SWYNES ILE. Be ane haffe myle of sea to this ile, lyes ane ile of twa myle lang, callit in Erische Ellannaneche, that is the Swynes ile, and very fertill and fruitful of cornes and grassing for all store, and verey guid for fishing, inhabit and manurit, a good falcon nest in it. It perteynis to the Bishope of the iles, with ane guid heighland haven in it, the entrey quherof is at the west cheik.

103. KANNAY. Be twa myle of sea towards the northwest, towards the ile of Ronin, layes ane ile callit Kannay, faire maine land, foure myle lange, inhabit and manurit, with paroche kirke in it, guid for corne, fishing and grassing, with a falcon nest in it, pertines to the Abbot of Colmkill.

104. EGGA. North from Ellan-muche be four myles lyes ane ile, callit the ile of Egga, four myle lange and twa myle braid, gude maine land, with a paroche kirke in it, and many solan geese, and verey guid for store, namelie for sheip, with a haven for heighland bottis.

105. SOA URETTIL. Northeist be twalve myles of sea from the ile Ronin, layes ane ile of half myle

in lenth, callit Soa Urettill, ane roughe iyle, quherin deir uses to be, and hunting games. It pertaines to M'Cloid of Heray.

106. Sky. North fra the ile Soa Urettill, be twa myle of sea, lyes the grate ile of Sky, tending from the south to the north to fortey twa myles, roughe and hard land; that is to say, from the south poynt of Sleitt to the north poynt of Trouternesse, and eight myle braid in some places, and in uther places twalve myles braid. In this ile there is twalve paroche kirkes, manurit and inhabit, fertill land, namelie for aitis, excelling aney uther ground for grassing and pastoures, abounding in store, and of studds in it, maney woods, maney forrests, maney deire, fair hunting games, maney grate hills, principally Euilvelimi and Glannock. Within this ile ther is gud take of salmant upon five watters principally, to wit, the water of Sneisport, Sligachan, Straitswardill, Ranlagallan, and Kilmtyne, with seven or aught uther smallar watters, quherupon salmont are also slayne. In this ile there is ane freshe water loche, callit the loche of Glenmoire, quheron ther is abundance of salmont and kipper slane. Within this iyle of Sky there is five castills; to wit, the castill of Dunbeggan, pertaining to M'Cloyd of Herray, ane starke strengthe, biggit upon ane craig; the castill of Dunnakyne, perteining to Mackynnoun; the castill Dunringill, perteining to the said Mackynnoun; the castill of Camns in Sleit, perteining to Donald Gromsone; the castill of Dunskay, perteining to the said Donald Gromsone; and the castill of Donntwyline, perteining to Donald Gromesone

lykewayis. Within this ile ther is seven sundry countreys: to wit, Slaitt; perteining to Donald Gromsone; Straytsnardill, perteining to M'Kynnoun, quhilk lies next the Sleit; Menzenise, perteining to M'Cloyde of Herrays; Brachedill, perteining to the said M'Cloyde; Watterness, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis; and Trontieness, perteining to Donald Gromesone. Into this ile ther is three principal salt water loches; to wit, Loch Sleigachan, Loch Downort, and Loch Sleippan. In thir three principal loches there is a guid take of herrings, for by thir three principal loches, there is thirteen salt water loches also within this ile, to wit, 1. Loche Skabanask, 2. Loche Emorte, 3. Loche Vrakdill, 4. Loche Kensale serloss, 5. Lothe Dunbegan, 6. Loche Gorsarmis, 7. Loche Arnoffort, 8. Loche Snasporte, 9. Loche Portri, 10. Loche Ken, 11. Loche Nadalae, in Sleit. The uther twa loches my memorey is fayled of them; but in mony of them ther is guid tack of herrings sometymes, but nought so guid by far as in the three first loches. This iyle is callit by the Erishe Ellan Skyane, that is to say in Englishe the Wingitt ile, be reason it has maney wyngs and points lyand furth frae it, through the devyding of thir loches.

107. Oransay. About this ile of Sky lyes in ane cirkill certain iles, to wit, at the west syde of Sleit lyes ane callit Oransay, ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, guid land, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

108. Nagoyneyne. Fornent Loche Alshe lyes ane iyle, callit in Erishe Ellan Nagoyneyne, that

is to say, Cupings ile, full of woode and cunnings, hafe an myle in lenth. It perteynes to M'Kenzie.

109. PABAY. At the shore of Sky foresaid, lyes ane iyle callit Pabay, neyre ane myle in lenthe, full of woodes, guid for fishing, and a main shelter for thieves and cut-throats. It perteins to M'Kynnoun.

110. SCALPAY. Fra this ile of Pabay, northwest be aught myle of sea, lyes ane ile callit Scalpay, foure myle lange, and als meikle in breid, ane faire hunting forrest, full of deire, with certain little woodis and small tounes, weill inhabit and manurit, with maney strenthey coves, guid for fishing. In heritage it perteines to M'Gillayne of Dowarde.

111. CROWLING. Crowling, ane small ile, zea rather a guid raid, betwixt the mouth of Loche Carron and the ile of Raarsay.

112. RAARSAY. Twa myle off sea fra the ile of Scalpay forsaid, lyes ane ile callit Raarsay, seiven myle lange from the southe to the northe, bot ane myle of sea from Tronternesse, and twa myle of breid, with pairt of birkin woodis, maney deires, pairt of profitable landes, inhabit and manurit, with twa castles, to witt, the castle of Killmorocht and the castle of Brolokit, with twa fair orchards at the saids twa castells, with ane paroche kirk, callit Killmolowocke, ane roughe countrey, bot all full of free-stanes and guid quarelles. It is excellent for fishing, perteining to M'Gyllychallan of Raarsay be the sword, and to the bishope of the iles by heritage. This same M'Gyllychallan shuld obey M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

113. RONAY. At the north end of Raarsay, be

half myle of sea frae it, layes ane ile callit Ronay, mair then a myle in lengthe, full of wood and heddir, with ane havin for heiland galeys in the middis of it, and the same havein is guyed for fostering of theives, ruggairs, and reivairs, till a nail, upon the peilling and spulzeing of poure pepill. This ile perteins to M'Gillychallan of Raarsay by force, and to the bishope of the iles be heritage.

114. ELLAN GEARLOCHIE. Ellan Gearlochie, a guid raid for the shipes in the mouthe of Lochaber.

115. FLADDAY. To the north fra Ronay, be sex myle of sea, lyes ane ile namit Fladday, ane maine laiche ile, half ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, fruitfull in corne and gerssing, perteining to Donald Gormesone.

116. TUILIN. Narrest the Fladday, be twa myle of sea at the shore of Tronternesse, lyes an ile, callit Ellan Tuilin, haffe myle lange or thereby, manurit, guid for corne and store, perteining to Donald Gormesone.

117. Four myle of sea fra this ile Tuilin, northwart, lyes an ile callit ———

118. CRANSAY. Upon the south coste of Sky, be ane half myle to the shore of Brakadill, is ane ile callit Cransay, haffe myle lange, ane boney ile for corne and gerssing, perteining to M'Cloyd of Herray.

119 BUYAMOIRE. Be ane myle of sea to this ile of Cransay, layes ane callit Buyamoire, guid for corne and store, perteining to M'Cloyd of Herray.

Narrest the ile of Buyamoir lyes foure small iles, quhose names the author has left blanks for, with the numbers of 120, 121, 122, 123.

Befor the castell of Dunbogan lyes three small iles, to wit, 124, 125, 126.

127. Isay. At the shore of Watternesse lyes ane ile callit Isa, ane faire laiche maine ile, inhabit and manurit, verey fertill and fruitfull for corne and gerssing, ane myle lange and haffe myle braid, having beside it ane uther laiche ile full of sheepe. This ile is guid for fishing, quhilk iles pertines to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

128. Askerin. On the eist shore of Watternesse lyes ane ile callit Ellan Askerin, abounding in gressing and pasture, maire usit for sheilling and pasture than for corne land, guid for fishing and slaughter of selchies, perteining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

129. Lindill. Upon the shore of Askerin lyes ane ile, callit Ellan Lindill, verey guid for bear and for pasture of sheepe. It perteines to M'Cloyd of Heray.

130. Lingay. From the ile of Sky towards the southwest, be foure score myles of sea, lyes ane ile callit Lingay, guid for gressing and fishing, ane ile of haffe myle lange. It has a falcon nest in it, perteins to the bishope of the iles.

131. Gigarun. Backwart to the north, besydes the ile of Lingay, lyes ane ile callit Gigarun, halfe myle lang, perteining to the bischop of the iles.

132. Berneray. Besydes the ile of Gigarun, towards the north, lyes ane ile, inhabit and manurit, ane myle lange, callit Berneray, verey fertill land, and guid for fishing, perteining to the bishop of the iles.

133. Megaly. Besydes the ile of Berneray,

towards the north, lyes ane ile callit Megaly, twa myle lange, inhabit and weill manurit, guid for fishing and corne, perteining to the bishop of the iles.

134. Pabay. Besydes the ile of Megaly, to the north northeist, lyes ane ile callit Pabay, ane myle lang, manurit. In it is guid take of fische. It perteines to the bishope of the iles.

135. Fladay. Besides the ile of Pabay lies ane pretty little ile to the northwart, callit Fladay, of ane myle lange, fruitfull in corne, and alsa in fishing, perteining to the bishope of the iles.

136. Scarpnamutt. Neire the ile of Fladay, towards the north, lyes ane ile namit Scarpnamutt, twa myle in lenthe, with a hake nest in it, full of pastures, and verey guid for fishing, perteining to the bishop of the iles.

137. Sanderay. Nixt to the forsaid ile lyes ther ane uther, callit Sanderay, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne and fishing, twa myle lange. It perteines to the bishope of the iles.

138. Wattersay. Besydes this ile, northwart, lyes ane ile callit Wattersay, twa myle in lenthe and ane myle in breadthe, ane excellent raid for shippes that comes ther to fische, ane faire maine ile, inhabit and manurit, abounding in corne and gerssing, with guide pastorage for sheepe. All thir nine iles forsaid had a chappell in every ile. This ile perteyns to the bishope of the iles.

139. Barray. Not far from this ile of Wattersay, towards the north, be twa myle of sea, lyes the ile Barray, being seven myle in lenthe from the southwest to the northeist and be north, and foure

in breadthe from the southeist to the northwest, ane fertill and fruitfull ile in oornes, abounding in the fishing of keilling, ling, and all uther quhyte fish, with ane paroche kirke, namit Killbare. Within the southwest end of this ile, ther enters a salt water loche, verey narrow in the entrey, and round and braide within. Into the middis of the saide loche there is ane ile, upon ane strenthey craige, callit Kiselnin, perteining to M'Kneil of Barray. In the north end of this ile of Barray ther is ane round heigh know, mayne grasse and greine round about it to the heid, on the top of quhilk ther is ane spring and fresh water well. This well treuly springs up certaine little round quhyte things, less nor the quantity of ane confeit corne, lykest to the shape and figure of ane little cokill, as it appearit to me. Out of this well runs ther ane little strype downwith to the sea, and quher it enters into the sea ther is ane myle braid of sands, quhilk ebbs ane myle, callit the Trayrmore of Killbaray, that is, the Grate sandes of Barray. This sand is all full of grate cokills, and alledgit be the ancient countrymen, that the cokills comes doun out of the forsaid hill throughe the said strype in the first small forme that we have spoken off, and after ther coming to the sandis growis grate cokills alwayes. Ther is na fairer and more profitable sands for cokills in all the warld. This ile pertains to M'Neill of Baray.

140. ORVANSAY. Betwixt Barray and Ywist ther lyes, first, Orvansay, half myle lange, with ane falcone nest, ane guid profitable ile, manurit, guid for sheepe, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

141. NAHACHARRACH. Besides this ile lyes

Ellan-Nahacharrach, by the Erishe so callit, and in Englishe the Sheipes ile, ane little ile full of gerssing and store, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

142. NAHAKERSAIT. Nairest this forsaid ile lyes ane ile callit Nahakersait, half a myle lange, with ane heaven for heighland galleys. It pertains to M'Neill of Barray.

143. GARNLANGA. Besides this lyes ane ile callit Garnlanga, guid for fishing and verey fruitful, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

144. FLADAY. Besides this lyes ane ile callit Fladay, halfe a myle lange, with ane falcone nest in it, verey fertill and fruitfull. It pertains to M'Niell of Barray.

145. BWYABEG. Besides Flada layes ane ile namit Bwyabeg, haffe a myle lang, guid for gerssing and fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

146. BWYA-MOIR. Narrest Bwyabeg lyes ane ile, namit Bwya-moir, twa myle lange, manurit, full of gersing and pasture, with ane falcon nest in it, pertaining to M'Neill of Barray.

147. HAY. Not far from Bwya-moir lyes ane ile callit Hay, haffe a myle lange, fertill and fruitfull, and guid for fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

148. HETTESAY. Besides Hay lyes ane ile callit Hettesay, ane myle lange, fertill and fruitful, weill manurit, and excellent for all sorte of quhyte fish taking. It perteins to M'Neill of Barray.

149. GIGAY. Besides this ile lyes ane ile callit Gigay, ane myle lange, fertill and fruitfull, guid for store and fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

150. LINGAY. Narrest to Gigay lyes ane ile callit Lingay, haffe a myle lange, ane verey guide ile for gressing, pastures, and for sheiling, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

151. FERAY. Besides this ile lyes ane ile laiche, namit by the Erishe Feray, haffe a myle lange, guid in corne and gersing, and excellent for fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

152. FUDAY. Besides this ile lyes an maine sandey ile callit Fuday, fertill for beare and marenis, the quhilk ile pay murenis zeirly to M'Neill of Barray, for part of mailles and dewties.

153. ERISKERAY. To the eist of this ile of Fuday, be three myle of sea, lyes ane ile callit Eriskeray, twa myle lang, inhabit and manurit. In this ile ther is daylie gottin aboundance of verey grate pintill fishe at ebb seas, and als verey guid for uther fishing, perteining to M'Neill of Barray.

154. YWST. Northwart fra thir iles forsaid, lyes the grate ile of Ywst, 34 myles lange from southwest to the northeist, sex myle braid, ane fertile countrey and maine laiche land, full of heigh hills and forests on the eist cost, ore southeist, and all plenisht laiche land in the northwest, with five paroche kirkes. Within this south part of Ywst, on the east cost of the same, layes ane salt water loche callit Vayhastill. This countrey is bruiked by sundrey captains; to witt, the south southwest end of it, callit Bayhastill, be M'Neill of Barray, the rest of the ile, named Peiter's parochin, the parochin of Howse, and the mayne land of the mid countrey callit Mackermeanache, perteins to Clanronald, halding of the Clandonald. At the end

heirof the sea enters, and cuts the countrey be ebbing and flowing through it: and in the north syde of this there is ane parochin callit Buchagla, perteining to the said Clandonald. At the north end thereof the sea cuts the countrey againe, and that cutting of the sea is called Careynesse, and benorth this countrey is called Kenehnache of Ywst, that is in Englishe, the north head of Ywst, whilk termis twa paroche kirks, and is mair of profit than the rest of haill of Ywst, perteining to Donald Gormesone. In this ile there are infinite number of fresh water loches; but ther is ane maine loche callit Lochebi, three myle lange, and a arme of the sea has worne the earth, that was at the ae end of this loche, quilk the sea has gotten enteries to this fresche water loche, and in that narrow entries that the sea has gotten to the loche, the countreymen has bigit upe ane thicke dyke of rough staines, and penney stanes caste lange narrest, notwithstanding the flowing streams of the sea enters throughe the said dyke of stanes in the said fresche water loche, and so ther is continually gettin stiking amange the roughe stains of the dyke foresaid, fluikes, podloches, skatts, and herings. Upone this loche ther is gottin a kynd of fishe, the quhantitie and shape of ane salmont, but it has na skaills at all; the under haffe, narrest his vombe is quhyte, and the upmaist haffe narrest his back, is als black as jett, with fines like to a salmont. Into this north heid of Ywst ther is sundrie covis and holes in the earth, coverit with heddir above, quhilk fosters maney rebellis in the countrey of the north heid of Ywst.

155. Betwixt the Kentnache and Benvalgha lyes ane very small ile, callit———

156. Helsker Nagaillon. Be aught myle of sea frae this ile, towards the west, lyes ane ile four myle and haff myle braid, laiche maine land, callit Hesker Nagaillon. It has abandance of corne, and elding for fire. It perteins to the Nuns of Columkill.

157. Haysker. To the northwast fra this Kentnache of Ywst, be twalve myle of sea, lyes ane ile, callit Haysker, quherin infinit slaughter of selchis is. This ile pertains to Donald Gormsone.

158. Hirta. To the west northwest of this ile foresaid, out in the mayne ocean seas, be threescore of myle of sea, layes ane ile callit Hirta, ane maine laiche ile, sa far as is manurit of it, aboundant in corne and gressing, namelie for sheipe, for ther ar fairer and greiter sheip ther, and larger tailled, then ther is in any uther ile about. The inhabitants therof ar simple poor people, scarce learnit in aney religion, bot M'Cloyd of Herray, his stewart, or he quhom he deputs in sic office, sailes anes in the zeir ther at midsummer, with some chaplaine to baptize bairnes ther, and if they want a chaplaine, they baptize ther bairns themselfes. The said stewart, as he himself tauld me, uses to take ane maske of malt ther with a masking fatt, and makes his malt, and ere the fatt be ready, the comons of the town, baith men, weemen, and bairns, puts their hands in the fatt, and findis it sweeit, and eets the greyns after the sweeitness thereof, quhilk they leave nather wirt or draffe unsuppit out ther, quharwith baith men, women, and bairns,

were deid drunken, sua that they could not stand upon their feet. The said stewart receives thir dewties in miell and reistit mutton, wyld foullis reistit, and selchis. This ile is maire nor ane mile lange, and narrest als meikle in braid, quhilk is not seine of aney shore, bot at the shoresyde of it lyes three grate hills, quhilk are ane pairt of Hirta, quhilk are seen affar off from the fore landis. In this fair ile is fair sheipe, falcon nests and wyld fouls biggand, but the streams of the sea are starke, and are verey eivil entring in aney of the saids iles. This ile of Hirta perteins of auld to M'Cloyd of Herray.

159. VALAY. At the northwest cost of the foresaid Kentnache lyes ane ile callit Valay, twa myle lang from the north to the south, ane myle braid, ane fayr mayne ile, inhabit and manurit, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

160. SOA. Betwixt this Kentnache and the Herray lyes ane ile callit Soa, inhabit and manurit, ane myle lang, mayne land, pertaining to Donald Gormesone.

161. THE PIGMIES ILE. At the north poynt of Lewis there is a little ile, callit the Pigmies ile, with ane little kirk in it of ther awn handey wark. Within this kirk the ancients of that countrey of the Lewis says, that the saids pigmies has been eirded thair. Maney men of divers countreys has delvit up dieplie the flure of the little kirke, and I myselve amanges the leave, and hes found in it, deepe under the erthe, certain baines and round heads of wonderful little quantity, allegit to be the baines of the said Pigmies, quhilk may be lykely,

according to sundry historys that we reid of the Pigmies; but I leave this far of it to the ancients of Lewis. This ile pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

162. FABILL. Besouth this, at the southeist shore of the Lewis, lyes ane ile, callit Ellan Fabill, verey guid for waike store and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

163. ADAIN. South fra this said cost lyes Ellan Adain, manurit, guid for waike bestiall, pertaining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

164. NA-NAUN. Upon the said shore, towards the west, lyes Ellan Na-naun, that is, the Lambes ile, wherein all the lambes of that end of the countrey uses to be fed and spained fra the zowes. This ile perteines to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

165. HUITURE. Betwixt this ile and Stornaway ther lyes Ellan Huiture, manurit, and guid for store and corne, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

166. VIC-COUILL. Southwart frae this iles lyes Ellan Vic-couill, ane guid ile for corne, store, and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

167. HALEURAV. Besides this layes Haleuray, ane guid ile for corne and grassing, verey excellent for fishing, of ane myle of lenthe, perteining to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

168. LAXAY. Besides this lyes the ile of Laxay, ane guid ile, full of corne and gressing, and all fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

169. ERR. Besides this ile of Laxay lyes ane ile callit Err, which is in English Irland, laiche

mayne and full of corne and grass, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

170. St. Colmes ile. Within the loches foresaid lyes Ellan Colmkill, that is in English St. Colmes ile. Within this ile M'Cloyd of the Lewis has ane faire orchard, and he that is gardener hes that ile free, guid in mayne land for corne, and gerssing and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

171. Tooray. Besides this ile lyes ane ile namit Ellan Tooray, ane ile weill manurit, guid for corn, grass, and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

172. Ellan Hurte. Southwart frae this lyes ane ile callit Ellan Hurte, with manurit land, guid to pasture and schielling of store, with faire hunting of ottars out of their bouries. It perteines to M'Cloyd of Lewis.

173. Scalpay of Harray. Southwart far frae this lyes ane ile callit Scalpay of Harray, twa myle lange, ane profitable ile in corn, gressing, and fishing. It perteins to M'Cloyd of Harray.

174. Fladay. Towards the northeist frae this ile, be 20 myle of sea, lyes an ile in the sea callit Fladay, halfe myle lange, ane profitable ile in corne, and grassing, and fishing, perteining to Donald Gormesone.

175. Senta. Northwart frae this ile lyes ther ane ile callit Ellan Senta, that is in English a Saw, ane ile mair than twa myle lang, verey profitable for corne, store, and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis. On the eist side of this ile ther is a

bore, maid like a vylt, mair nore an arrow shot of any man under the eirde, through the quilk vylt we use to row ore saill with our bottis, for fear of the horrible breake of the seas that is on the outwar side thereof, bot na grate shipes can saill ther. It preteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

176. SENCHASTLE. Be eist this ile lyes ane ile, callit Senchastle by the Eriche, that is the alde castle ile in the Englishe, an strenthe, full of corne and grassinge, full of wyld fowls nests, and verey guid for fishing. It perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

177. ELLAN EW. Upon the shore of Lochebrune lyes Ellan Ew, haffe myle in length, full of woods, guid for thieves to wait upon uther mens gaire. It perteins to M'Enzie.

178. GRUYNORDE. Northwarte frae this ile lyes the ile of Gruynorde, maire nore ane myle lange, full of wood, guid for fostering of thieves and rebellis. It perteins to M'Enzie.

179. NA-CLERACHE. Northwart fra this ile lyes ane ile callit Ellan Naclerache, an haffe myle lange, guid for gerssing and wyld fowls eggs, perteining to M'Enzie.

180. AFUIL. Narrest this lyes the ile by the Erishe callit Ellan Afuil, guid for store and fishing.

181. HAWRARYMOIR. Narrest this lies Hawrarymoir, by the Erish sa callit.

182. HAWRARYBEG. Besides this lyes ane ile namit Hawrarybeg.

183. NANEACHE. Besydes this lyes ane iland, by the Erishe callit Naneache.

184. MERTARYE. Besides this lyes iland Mertarye.

185. SOYA-MOIR. Besides this lyes ane ile, callit by the Erishe themselfes Soya-moir. It is ane myle of lenthe, verey fertill and fruitfull, excellent for fisching.

186 ELLAN IISA. Besides this lyes an ile, namit by the Erishe Ellan Iisa, manurit, fertill and fruitfull.

187. SENNA-BEG. Besides this lyes ther an ile Senna-beg, manurit, fertill and fruitful, guid for corne, store, and fishing, haff ane myle lange.

188. SENNA-MOIR. Besydes this Senna-moir, ane ile of a myle of lenthe and haff myle breadthe, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fishing.

189. TARANDSAY. Besides this lyes Tarandsay, ane ile of five myle lange, and haff myle braid, ane rough ile, with certaine tounis, weil inhabit and manurit; bot all this fertill is delved with spaides, excepting sa meikell as ane horse pleuch will teill, and zet they have maist abundance of beir, meikel of corn, store, and fishing. It perteins to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

190. SLEYEIN. Besides this lyes the ile of Sleyein, manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

191. TIVEIN. Besides this lyes Tivein, ane ile guid for store, corne, and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

192. SCARPE. Besides this, out in the sea about Vsenesse in Harrey, lyes ane ile callit the Scarpe,

fertil and fruitful, guid for corne, store, and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of Harrey.

Aboufe the northe, west coste of the Lewis, towards the mayne Occident seas, lyes certaine iles, of quhome wee will make mention, befor that wee shall begin with Harrey and Lewis, *to wit;*

193. SEVEN HALEY ILES. First, furth 50 myle in the Occident seas from the coste of the parochin Vye in Lewis, towarts the west northwest, lyes the seven iles of Flanayn, claid with girth, and Haley iles, verey natural gressing within thir saids iles; infinit wyld scheipe therein, quhilk na man knawes to quhom the said sheipe apperteines within them that lives this day of the countrymen; bot M'Cloyd of the Lewis, at certaine tymes in the zeir, sendis men in, and huntis and slayis maney of thir sheipe. The flesche of thir sheipe cannot be eaten be honest men for fatnesse, for ther is na flesche on them, bot all quhyte lyke talloune, and it is verey wyld gusted lykways. The saids iles are nouder manurit nor inhabit, bot full of grein high hills, full of wyld sheipe in the seven iles forsaid, quhilk may not be outrune. They perteine to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

194. GARVELLAN. Besydis this coste of Lewis, towards the said northwest, lyes ane ile callit Garvellan, guid for store and fisching.

195. LAMBAY. Besydis this ile lyes ane uther ile namit Lambay, guid also for store and fishing, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

196. FLADAY. Besydis the ils of Lambay lyes

ane uther ile, by the Erische namit Fladay of the Lewis, ane pretty laiche ile, guid for store and fishing. It apperteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

197. KEALNSAY. Besydis this lyes Kealnsay, ane guid ile, narrest ane myle lange, fruitful for store and fishing, and also manurit, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

198. BERNERAY-BEG. Besydis this Kealnsay forsaid layes Berneray-beg, haffe ane myle lange, and ane myle of breadthe, ane laiche rough ile, full of little roughe craiges and how betwixt, of naturall fertile eirthe, with infinite sea ware on every stane of the same. This ile is weill inhabit and manurit, and will give mair nor twa hundred bows of beire, with delving only. It perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

199. BERNERAY-MOIR. Besydis this lyes Berneray-moir, ane ile of five myle lang, inhabit and manurit, fertill and fruitfull, with maney pastures and meikell store, guid for fisching, and fewell also. It perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

200. KERTAY. Besydis this ile lyes Kertay, ane ile of a myle in lenthe, inhabit and manurit, fertill and fruitful, guid for store and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

201. BUYA-BEG. Besydis this lyes Buya-beg, an ile inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

202. BUYA-MOIR. Besydis this lyes the ile, callit by the Erishe Buya-moir, mair nore ane myle lange, inhabit and manurit, guid for corne, store, and fisching, perteining to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

203. VAXAY. Besydis this lyes ane ile, by the Erishe namit Vaxay, ane guid mayne ile, of ane myle lenthe, inhabit and manurit, full of natural pasture, for store, fisching, and excellent guid fewall. It pertains to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

204. PABAY. Besydis this ile lyes Pabay, an ile maire nore ane myle lange, ane fruitfull and fertile mayne ile, full of corne and scheipe, quherein ther was a kirke, quherein also M'Cloyd of the Lewis ussit to dwell, quhen he wald be quyeit, or yet fearit. This ile is guid for fisching, and perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

205. SIGRAIN-MOIR-NAGOINEIN. Besydis this Pabay layes the ile which the Erishemen calleth Sigrain-moir-Nagoinein, that is to say the Cuninges ile, quherein ther are manay cuninges. This ile is guid for gressing and fisching, and perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

206. SIGRAIN-BEG. Besydis this ile layes Sigrain-beg, ane fertill and fruitfull ile, guid for corne, gressing and fisching, ane myle of lenthe. It perteins to M'Cloyd of the Lewis.

207. HARREY. Now we returne backwards to the Harrey, quhilk is bot ane ile and the Lewis togidder, extending in lenthe from the south west to the north eist to three scoir of myles, and from the north west to the south eist to 16 myle in breid. Within the south pairt of this ile lyes ane monastery with ane steipell, quhilk was foundit and biggit by M'Cloyd of Harrey, callit Roodill. This south pairt of the countrey, callit Harrey, is verey fertill and fruitfull for corne, store, and fisching, twisse

mair of delving in it nor of teilling. Within this end of the countrey ther is ane water, with an guid take of salmont fisching in it, with ane heighe greine hill callit Copesaall, maist excellent for scheipe in the pairts quhereon there wes scheipe, quhen I wes ther, without auners, and very ald. In this countrey of Harrey, northwart betwixt it and the Lewis, are maney forrests, quherein are aboundance deir, bot not grate quantitie, verey faire hunting games without any woodes, with infinite slaughter of otters and macttickes. This ile has neather wolfes, taides, nor edders in it.

Lewis is the north pairt of this ile, and the maist also, faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile fruitfull countrey, for the most part all beire, with 4 paroche kirks, and with ane castell callit Steornaway; with 3 principal salt water loches, verey guid for take of herrings, to wit, Loche Selga, farrest to the southwest, Loche Fasirt, northwart fra that ane loche that is lange and has certaine small loches in it, quhilke is for the same cause callit the Loches. By these there is uther 3 loches, not eivill qulylomes for take of herrings, to wit, Loche Steornaway, with infinit fresche water loches in this Lewis. Ther are 8 waters with take of salmont. In this ile ther are maney schiep, for it is verey guid for the same, for they lay furth ever one mures and glenis, and entir nevir in a house, and ther wool is but anes in the ziere plukit aff them in some fauldes. In this countrey is peitmoss-land at the sea cost, and the place quhar he winnes his peitts this zeir, ther he sawis his corne the next zeire,

after that he guidds it weill with sea ware. A grait take of whailles is oftimes in this countrey, so that be relatione of the maist ancient in this countrey, ther comes 26 or 27 quhailles young and ald to the teynd anes ther. Ther is ane cove in this countrey quherein the sea fallis, and is twa fadome deepe at the ebb sea, and four faddom and maire at the full sea. Within this cove ther uses whytteins to be slain with huikes, verey maney haddocks, and men with their wands sitting upon the craiges of that cove, and lades and women also.

208. RONAY. Towards the north northeist from Lewis, three score myles of sea, lyes ane little ile callit Ronay, laiche maine lande, inhabit and manurit be simple people, scant of ony religione. This ile is uther haffe myle lange, and haffe myle braide; aboundance of corne growes on it by delving onlie, aboundance of clover gerse for sheipe. Ther is an certain number of ky and sheipe ordainit for this ile be thir awin ald right, extending to sa maney as may be sustainit upon the said gerssing, and the countrey is so fertill of gerssing, that the superexcrescens of the said ky and schiepe baith feidis them in flesche, and als payes ther dewties with the samen for the maist pairt. Within this ile there is sic faire whyte beir meil made like flour, and quhen they slay ther sheipe, they slay them belly flaught, and stuffes ther skins fresche of the bear meil, and send their dewties be a servant of M'Cloyd of Lewis, with certain reistit muttan, and mony reistit foulis. Within this ile there is ane chapell, callit St. Ronay's chapell, unto quhilk chapell, as the

ancients of the country alledges, they leave an spaid and ane shuil, quhen any man dies, and upon the morrow findes the place of the grave markit with an spaid, as they alledge. In this ile they use to take maney quhaills and uthers grate fisches.

209. SUILSKERAY. Be sexteen myle of sea to this ile, towards the west, lyes ane ile callit Suilskeray, ane myle lang, without grasse or hedder, with highe blacke craigs, and black fouge thereupon part of them. This ile is full of wylde foulis, and quhen foulis hes ther birdes, men out of the parochin of Nesse in Lewis use to sail ther, and to stay ther seven or aught dayes, and to fetch hame with them their boitt full of dray wild foulis, with wyld foulis fedders. In this ile ther haunts ane kynd of foule callit the colk, little less nor a guise, quha comes in the *ver* to the land to lay hir eggis, and to clecke hir birds quhill she bring them to perfytness, and at that time her fleiche of fedderis falleth of her all hailly, and she sayles to the mayne sea againe, and comes never to land quhyll the zier end againe, and then she comes with her new fleiche of fedderis. This fleiche that she leaves zeirly upon her nest hes nae pens in the fedderis, nor nae kind of hard thinge in them that may be felt or graipit, bot utter fyne downes.

A

# VOYAGE

TO

# SAINT KILDA,

**The remotest of all the Hybrides,**

OR

## *Western Isles of Scotland;*

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE VERY REMARKABLE INHABITANTS OF THAT PLACE, THEIR BEAUTY AND SINGULAR CHASTITY (FORNICATION AND ADULTERY BEING UNKNOWN AMONG THEM); THEIR GENIUS FOR POETRY, MUSIC, DANCING; THEIR SURPRISING DEXTERITY IN CLIMBING THE ROCKS, AND WALLS OF HOUSES, DIVERSIONS, HABIT, FOOD, LANGUAGE, DISEASES AND METHODS OF CURE; THEIR EXTENSIVE CHARITY; THEIR CONTEMPT OF GOLD AND SILVER, AS BELOW THE DIGNITY OF HUMAN NATURE; THEIR RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES, NOTION OF SPIRITS AND VISIONS, &c. &c.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

## AN ACCOUNT OF RODERICK,

*The late Impostor there,*

PRETENDING TO BE

SENT BY JOHN THE BAPTIST WITH NEW REVELATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; HIS DIABOLICAL INVENTIONS, ATTEMPTS UPON THE WOMEN, &c.

BY M. MARTIN, GENT.

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1818.

# PREFACE.

MEN are generally fond enough of novelty, not to suffer any thing represented under that plausible invitation to pass unnoticed. A description of some remote corner in the Indies shall be sure to afford us high amusement, whilst a thousand things much nearer to us might engage our thoughts to better purpose and the knowledge of them serve to promote our true interest, and the history of nature. It is a piece of weakness and folly to value things merely on account of their distance: Thus men have travelled far in search of foreign plants and animals, and continued strangers to the productions of their own climate. The following relation, therefore, I hope will not prove unprofitable or displeasing, unless the advantages of truth and unaffected simplicity should prejudice it in the opinion of such as are more trifling and curious than solid and judicious.

The author, born in one of the most spacious and fertile isles in the west of Scotland, by a laudable curiosity was prompted to undertake the voyage, and that in an open boat, to the almost manifest

hazard of his life; as the seas and tides in those rocky islands are more inconstant and raging than in most other places. And he has been careful to relate nothing in the following account, but what he asserts for truth, either upon his own particular knowledge, or from the constant and harmonious testimony given him by the inhabitants. People so plain, and so little inclined to impose upon mankind, that perhaps no place in the world, at this day, knows instances like these of true primitive honour and simplicity; a people abhorring lying, tricks and artifices, as they do the most poisonous plants, or devouring animals.

The author confesses he might have put these papers into the hands of some capable of giving them, what they really want, a politer turn of phrase, but he hopes for the indulgence of at least the intelligent reader, who will always set a higher value upon unadorned truth in such accounts than the utmost borrowings of art, or the advantages of refined languages.

A

# VOYAGE TO ST. KILDA,

*&c.*

THE various relations concerning St. Kilda, given by those of the Western isles and continent, induced me to a narrow inquiry about it: for this end I applied myself to the present Steward, who, by his description, and the products of the island which were brought to me, together with a natural impulse of curiosity, formed such an idea of it in my mind, that I determined to satisfy myself with going thither; it having been never hitherto described to any purpose; the accounts given by Buchanan and Sir Robert Murray, being but relations from second and third hands, neither of them ever having the opportunity of being upon the place. I attempted several times to visit it, but in vain; until last summer, the Laird of M'Leod heartily recommending the care of the inhabitants of St. Kilda to Mr. John Campbell, minister of Harries, he went to St. Kilda, and I chearfully embraced the occasion; and accordingly we embarked at the isle Esay in Harries, May the 29th, 1697, the wind at S. E.

We set sail with a gentle breeze, bearing to the westward, and were not well got out of the harbour, when Mr. Campbell, observing the whiteness of the waves attended with an extraordinary noise beating upon the rocks, expressed his dislike of it, being in those parts a prognostic of an ensuing storm; but the same appearing sometimes in summer before excessive heat, it was slighted by the crew. But as we advanced about two leagues further, upon the coast of the isle Pabbay, the former signs appearing more conspicuously, we unanimously concluded a storm approaching, which occasioned a motion for our return; but the wind and ebb-tide concurring, determined us to pursue our voyage, in hopes of arriving at our desired harbour, before the wind or storm should rise, which we judged would not be suddenly: but our fond imagination was not seconded with a good event, as will appear; for we had scarce sailed a league further, when the wind inclined more southerly, and altered our measures; we endeavoured by the help of our oars to reach the Haw-sker rocks, some four leagues to the south coast, which we were not able to effect, though we consumed the night in this vain expectation. By this time we so far advanced in the ocean, that after a second motion for our return, it was found impracticable, especially since we could not promise to fetch any point of Scotland; this obliged us to make the best of our way for St. Kilda, though labouring under the disadvantages of wind and tide. Our crew extremely fatigued and discouraged without sight of land for sixteen hours; at length one of them discovered several tribes of the fowls of St.

Kilda flying, holding their course southerly of us, which (to some of our crew) was a demonstration we had lost our course, by the violence of the flood and wind both concurring to carry us northerly, though we steered by our compass right west.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda take their measures from the flight of those fowls, when the heavens are not clear, as from a sure compass, experience showing that every tribe of fowls bend their course to their respective quarters, though out of sight of the isle; this appeared clearly in our gradual advances; and their motion being compared did exactly quadrate with our compass. The inhabitants rely so much upon this observation, that they prefer it to the surest compass; but we begged leave to differ from them, though at the same time we could not deny their rule to be as certain as our compass. While we were in this state, we discovered the isle Borera, near three leagues north of St. Kilda, which was then about four leagues to the south of us; this was a joyful sight, and gave new vigour to our men, who being refreshed with victuals, lowering mast and sail, rowed to a miracle: While they were tugging at the oars, we plied them with plenty of aquavitæ to support them, whose borrowed spirits so far wasted their own, that upon our arrival at Borera, there was scarce one of them able to manage cable or anchor: we put in under the hollow of an extraordinary high rock, to the north of this isle, which was all covered with a prodigious number of solan geese hatching in their nests; the heavens were darkened by their flying over our heads, their excrements were in such quantity, that they gave

a tincture to the sea, and at the same sullied our boat and clothes: two of them confirmed the truth of what has been frequently reported, of their stealing from one another grass wherewith to make their nests, by affording us the following very agreeable diversion, and it was thus: one of them finding his neighbour's nest without the fowl, lays hold on the opportunity, and steals from it as much grass as he could conveniently carry off, taking his flight towards the ocean; from thence he presently returns, as if he made a foreign purchase; but it does not pass for such; for the owner had discovered the fact, before the thief had got out of sight, and, too nimble for his cunning, waits his return, all armed with fury, and engages him desperately; this bloody battle was fought above our heads, and proved fatal to the thief, who fell dead so near our boat, that our men took him up, and presently dressed and eat him; which they reckoned as an omen of good success in the voyage.

We proposed being at St. Kilda next day, but our expectation was frustrated by a violent storm, which almost drove us to the ocean; where we incurred no small risk, being no ways fitted for it; our men laid aside all hopes of life, possessed with the belief that all this misfortune proceeded from the Impostor Roderick (of whom hereafter), who they believed had employed the devil to raise this extraordinary storm against Mr. Campbell, who was to counteract him. All our arguments, whether from natural reason, or the providence of God, were not of force enough to persuade them to the contrary, until it pleased God to command a calm the

day following, which was the first of June, and then we rowed to St. Kilda. As we came close upon the rocks, some of the inhabitants, who were then employed in setting their gins, welcomed us with a *God save you*, their usual salutation, admiring to see us get thither contrary to wind and tide; they were walking unconcernedly on the side of this prodigious high rock, at the same time keeping pace with our boat, to my great admiration, insomuch that I was quickly obliged to turn away my eyes, lest I should have had the unpleasant spectacle of some of them tumbling down into the sea; but they themselves had no such fears, for they outran our boat to the town, from thence they brought the Steward and all the inhabitants of both sexes to receive us: we approached the outmost part of the low rock, called the Saddle; a parcel of the inhabitants were mounted upon it, having on their feet the usual dress on such occasions, i. e. socks of old rags sewed with feathers instead of thread; our boat being come pretty near, it was kept off this rock with long poles; some of their number, coming by pairs into the sea, received Mr. Campbell and me upon their shoulders and carried us to land, where we were received with all the demonstrations of joy and kindness they were able to express; the Impostor Roderick, endeavouring to outdo his neighbours, and placing himself always in the front of our attendants, discovered his hypocrisy. We all walked together to the little village, where there was a lodging prepared for us, furnished with beds of straw; according to the ancient custom of the place, the officer, who presides over them in the

Steward's absence summoned the inhabitants, who by concert agreed upon a daily maintenance for us, as Bread, Butter, Cheese, Mutton, Fowls, Eggs, Fire, &c. all which was to be given in at our lodging twice every day; this was done in the most regular manner, each family by turns paying their quota proportionably to their lands: I remember the allowance for each man PER DIEM, beside a barley cake, was eighteen of the eggs laid by the fowl called by them Lavy, and a greater number of the lesser eggs, as they differed in proportion; the largest of these eggs is near in bigness to that of a Goose, the rest of the eggs gradually of a lesser size.

We had the curiosity after three weeks residence, to make a calculation of the number of eggs bestowed upon those of our boat, and the Steward's birlin, or galley; the whole amounted to sixteen thousand eggs: The inhabitants were thrice our number, and must consume a number of eggs and fowls in proportion. From this it is easy to imagine, that a vast number of fowl must resort here all summer, which is yet the more probable if it be considered, that every fowl lays but one egg at a time, when allowed to hatch.

The inhabitants live together in a small village, carrying all the signs of an extreme poverty; the houses are of a low form, and the doors all to the north-east, to secure them from the shocks of the tempestuous south-west winds. The walls of the houses are rudely built of stone, the short couples joining at the ends of the roof, upon whose sides small ribs of wood are laid, and these covered with straw; the whole secured by ropes made of twisted

heath, the extremity of which on each side is poised with stone to preserve the thatch from being blown away. This little village is seated in a valley surrounded with four mountains, serving as ramparts of defence, and are so many amphitheatres, from whence a fair prospect of the ocean and isles may be seen in a fine day.

This isle is by the inhabitants, as likewise by all the western islanders, called Hirt; Buchanan calls it Hirta; Sir John Narborough, and all sailors, St. Kilda; in sea maps it is called St. Kilder, particularly in a Dutch sea map from Ireland to Zeland, published at Amsterdam by Peter Goas in the year 1663, wherein it is placed due west betwixt fifty and sixty miles from the middle of the Lewis, and the isle answers directly to the fifty-eighth degree of northern latitude, as marked upon the ends of the map, and from it lies Rockel, a small rock sixty leagues to the westward of St. Kilda; the inhabitants of this place call it Rokabarra; this map contains the soundings of some places near St. Kilda; these not exceeding twenty or thirty fathom; it contains only the larger isle, and a part of the lesser isles. This island is also called St. Kilda, by a company of French and Spaniards, who lost their ship at Rockel in the year 1686, which they named to the inhabitants of St. Kilda, whose latitude is fifty-seven degrees and three minutes.

The air here is sharp and wholesome; the hills are often covered with ambient white mists, which in winter are forerunners of snow, if they continue on the tops of the hills; and in summer, if only on the tops of the hills, they prognosticate rain; when

they descend to the valleys it is a prognostic of excessive heat. The night here about the time of the summer solstice exceeds not an hour in length, especially if the season is fair, then the sun disappears but for a short space, the reflex from the sea being all the time visible; the harvest and winter are liable to great winds and rain, the south-west wind annoying them more than any other; it is commonly observed to blow from the west for the most part of, if not all, July.

St. Kilda is two miles long from east to west; in breadth from south to north one mile; and five miles in circumference. It is naturally fenced with one continued face of a rock of great height, except a part of the bay, which lies to the south-east, and is well defended generally with a raging sea: this bay is half a mile in length, and as much in breadth; it is not common for any vessels to anchor within this bay, in case of a storm, as it might be dangerous for them; therefore they drop anchor at the entry, judging it the securest: the only place for landing is, on the north side of this bay, upon a rock with a little declination, which is slippery, being covered with several sorts of sea-weeds; these, with a boisterous sea, render the place almost inaccessible, the sea being seldom otherwise but under favour of a neap tide, a north-east, or west wind, or with a perfect calm; when these circumstances concur, the birlin or boat is brought to the side of the rock, and all the inhabitants of both sexes are ready to join their united force to hale her through; for this end they have a rope fastened to the forepart; and a competent number of them are employ-

ed on each side; both these are determined by a Cryer, who is employed on purpose to warn them all at the same minute, and he ceases whenever he finds it convenient to give them a breathing.

At the head of the bay is a plain sand, only to be seen in summer, the winter-sea washing it all off the stones; there's no landing upon this place with safety, which the Steward has learned to his cost. There is a little bay upon the west side of this isle, all faced with an iron-coloured rock; some vessels take shelter here, when the wind is at south or north-east; there is a place of the rock here on the south-side the rivulet, where you may land, if a neap-tide or calm offer. The sea is very impetuous every where about this isle, they showed me large stones which were lately removed out of their place, and cast into the galleys' dock; I measured some of them which were in length, some seven, others eight feet, and three or four feet in breadth.

On the south part of the south-east bay is a little old ruinous fort called the Down. It is evident from what has been already said, that this place may be reckoned among the strongest forts, natural or artificial, in the world; nature has provided the place with store of ammunition for acting on the defensive; that is, a heap of loose stones on the top of the hill Oterveaul, directly upon the landing-place; it is very easy to discharge vollies of this ammunition directly upon the place of landing, and that from a great eminence almost perpendicular; this I myself had occasion to demonstrate, having for my diversion put it in practice to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, to whom this defence had

never hitherto occurred: but they are resolved to make use of this for the future, to keep off the Low-landers, against whom of late they have conceived strong prejudices. A few hands may be capable of resisting some hundreds by the above-mentioned weapons. The four great mountains are faced on the side towards the sea, with rocks of extraordinary height; the hill Conagir on the north side, is not less than two hundred fathom perpendicular above the sea.

Around this isle are four arches or vaults, through which the sea passes, as does the day-light from either side, which is visible to any, though at a considerable distance; some of them representing a large gate: two of these look to the south, and two north-west; that on the point of the west bay is six fathom high above water, four in breadth, fifty paces in length, the top two fathom thick, and very strong, the cattle feeding upon it.

There are several veins of different stone to be seen in the rocks of the south-east bay; upon the north side of this rock is one as it were cut out by nature, resembling a terras walk. The crystal grows under the rock at the landing place, this must be pierced a foot or two deep, before the crystal can be had from the bed of sand where it lies; the water at the bottom is of a black colour; the largest piece is not above four inches long, and about two in diameter, each piece sexangular.

Upon the west side of this isle lies a valley with a declination towards the sea, with a rivulet running through the middle of it; on each side of which is an ascent of half a mile; all which piece of ground

is called by the inhabitants, The Female Warrior's Glen: this Amazon is famous in their traditions: her house or dairy of stone is yet extant; some of the inhabitants dwell in it all summer, though it be some hundred years old; the whole is built of stone, without any wood, lime, earth, or mortar, to cement it, and is in form of a circle pyramid-wise towards the top with a vent in it, the fire being always in the centre of the floor; the stones are long and thin, which supplies the defect of wood: the body of this house contains not above nine persons sitting; there are three beds or low vaults at the side of the wall, which contain five men each, and are separated by a pillar; at the entry to one of these low vaults is a stone standing upon one end; upon this she is reported ordinarily to have laid her helmet; there are two stones on the other side, upon which she is said to have laid her sword: they tell you she was much addicted to hunting, and that in her days all the space betwixt this isle and that of Harries, was one continued tract of dry land. Some years ago a pair of large deer's-horns were found in the top of Oterveaul-hill, almost a foot under ground, and a wooden dish full of deer's grease. 'Tis said of this warrior, that she let loose her greyhounds after the deer in St Kilda, making their course towards the opposite isles. There are several other traditions concerning this famous Amazon. But I shall trouble my reader with no more of them.

In this isle are plenty of excellent fountains or springs, that near the Female warrior's house is reputed the best: It is called Tou-bir-nimbeuy, importing no less than the Well of qualities or virtues;

it runs from east to west, being sixty paces ascent above the sea: I drank of it twice, an English quart each time; it was very clear, exceeding cold, light and diuretic; I was not able to hold my hand in it above a few minutes for its coldness; the inhabitants of Harries find it effectual against windy-cholics, gravel, and headaches; this well hath a cover of stone.

There is a very large well near the town called St. Kilder's well; from which the island is supposed to derive its name; this water is not inferior to that above-mentioned; it runs to the south-east from the north-west.

There is another well within half a mile of this, named after one Conirdan, an hundred paces above the sea, and runs from north-west towards the south-east, having a stone cover.

Within twelve paces of this is a small excellent fountain, which those of Harries and St. Kilda will needs call it by the author's name, and were then resolved to give it a cover of stone, such as is above described.

There is a celebrated well issuing out of the face of a rock on the north-side of the east bay, called the Well of Youth, but is only accessible by the inhabitants, no stranger daring to climb the steep rock; the water of it is received, as it falls, into the sea; it runs towards the south-east. The taste of the water of those wells was so agreeable to me, that, for several weeks after, the best fountains in the adjacent isles seemed to have lost their relish. There is a rivulet running close by the town, and another larger beyond Kilder's well; this last serves

for washing linen, which it does as well without soap, as other water with; of this we had experience, which was a confirmation of what had been reported to us concerning this water: we searched if in the brinks we could discover any fuller's-earth, but found none: we discovered some pieces of iron ore in several places. This rivulet drops from the mossy ground in the top of the hills.

The whole island is one hard rock, formed into four high mountains, three of which are in the middle, all thinly covered with black or brown earth, not above a foot, in some places half a foot deep, except the top of the hills, where it is above three foot deep, and affords them good turf; the grass is very short but kindly, producing plenty of milk; the number of sheep commonly maintained in St. Kilda and the two adjacent isles does not exceed two thousand, and generally they are speckled, some white, some philamort, and are of a common size: they do not resemble goats in any respect, as Buchanan was informed, except in their horns, which are extraordinary large, particularly those in the lesser isles.

The number of horses exceeds not eighteen, all of a red colour, very low and smooth skinned, and are employed in carrying turf and corn, and at their anniversary Cavalcade, of which hereafter. The cows, which are about ninety in number, small and great, have their foreheads white and black, which is discernible at a great distance, are of a low stature, but fat and sweet beef; the dogs, cats, and all the sea-fowls of this isle are speckled.

The soil is very grateful to the labourer, produc-

ing ordinarily sixteen, eighteen, or twenty fold; their grain is only bear, and some oats; the barley is the largest produced in all the western isles; they use no plough but a kind of crooked spade; their harrows are of wood as are the teeth in the front also, and all the rest supplied only with long tangles of sea-ware tied to the harrow by the small ends; the roots hanging loose behind, scatter the clods broken by the wooden teeth; this they are forced to use for want of wood. Their arable land is very nicely parted into ten divisions, and these into subdivisions, each distinguished by the name of some deceased man or woman, who were natives of the place; there is one spot called *Multa Terra*, another *Multus Agris*. The chief ingredient in their composts is, ashes of turf mixed with straw; with these they mix their urine, which by experience they find to have much of the vegetable nitre; they do not preserve it in quantities as elsewhere, but convey it immediately from the fountain to the ashes, which by daily practice they find most advantageous; they join also the bones, wings, and entrails of their sea-fowls to their straw; they sow very thick, and have a proportionable growth; they pluck all their bear by the roots in handfuls, both for the sake of their houses, which they thatch with it, and their cows which they take in, during the winter; the corn produced by this compost is perfectly free from any kind of weed; it produces much sorrel where the compost reaches.

The coast of St. Kilda, and the lesser isles, are plentifully furnished with variety of Cod, Ling, Mackerel, Congars, Braziers, Turbot, Graylords,

Sythes; these last two are of the same kind, only differing in bigness; some call them Black-Mouths; they are large as any Salmon, and somewhat longer: there are also Laiths, Podloes, Herrings, and many more; most of these are fished by the inhabitants upon the rock, for they have neither nets nor long lines. Their common bait is the Lympets or Patellæ, parboiled; they use likewise the flesh of a fowl called by them Bowger, which the fish near the lesser isles catch greedily; sometimes they use the Bowger's flesh and the Patellæ at the same time upon one hook, and this proves successful also. In the month of July a considerable quantity of Mackerel run themselves ashore, but always with a spring tide. The amphibia seen here, are the Otters and Seals; this latter the inhabitants reckon very good meat; no sort of trees, not even the least shrub grows here, nor has a bee been ever seen here.

Levinis, a rock about fourteen paces high, and thirty in circumference, but narrower at the top, stands about half a league to the south-east bay, covered with no kind of earth or grass; a spring of fresh water issues out from the side of it; this rock by an ancient custom, belongs to the galley's crew. Betwixt the west point of St. Kilda, and the isle Soa, is the famous rock Stackdonn, i. e. a mischievous rock, for it hath proved so to some of their number, who perished in attempting to climb it; it is much of the form and height of a steeple, there is a very great dexterity, and it is reckoned no small piece of gallantry, to climb this rock, especially that part of it called the Thumb, which is so little, that of all the parts of a man's body

the thumb only can lay hold on it, and that must be only for the space of one minute; during which time his feet have no support, nor any part of his body touches the stone, except the thumb, in which minute he must jump by the help of his thumb, (the agility of his body concurring to raise him higher at the same time) to a sharp point of the rock, which when he has got hold of, puts him out of danger, and having a rope about his middle, which he casts down to the boat, by the help of this he brings up as many persons as are designed for fowling at this time; the foreman, or principal climber has the reward of four fowls bestowed upon him over and above his proportion; perhaps, one might think four thousand too little to compensate so great a danger as this man incurs; but he has the advantage by it, of being recorded among their greatest heroes; as are all the foremen who lead the van in getting up this same mischievous rock.

Within pistol-shot from this place is the isle Soa, a mile and an half in circumference, but contracted narrower toward the top, being a full half mile in difficult ascent all round, most of it bare rock, some parts of it covered with grass, but dangerous to ascend; the landing is also very hazardous, both in regard of the raging sea, and the rock that must be climbed; yet the inhabitants are accustomed to carry burthens both up it and down, and of this I was once a witness. There is scarce any landing here, except in one place, and that under favour of a west-wind and neap-tide; the waves upon the rock discover when it is accessible; if they appear white from St. Kilda, the inhabitants do not so

much as offer to launch out their boat, in order to land in Soa, or any other isle or rock, though their lives were at stake. This little isle is furnished with an excellent spring, the grass is very sweet, feeds five hundred sheep, each of which generally has two or three lambs at a birth, and every lamb so fruitful, that it brings forth another before itself is a year old. The same is also observed of lambs in the little isles adjacent to those of Harries and North-Uist. The sheep in the isle Soa are never milked, which disposes them to be the more prolific: there are none to catch them but the inhabitants, whom I have seen pursue the sheep nimbly down the steep descent, with as great freedom as if it had been a plain field.

This isle abounds with an infinite number of fowl, as Fulmar, Lavy, Falk, Bowger, &c.

There was a cock-boat some two years ago came from a ship for water, being favoured by a perfect calm; the men discerned a prodigious number of eggs upon the rocks, which tempted them to venture near the place, and at last obtained a competent number of them; one of the seamen was industrious enough to put them into his breeches, which he took off for that purpose; some of the inhabitants of St. Kilda, who happened to be in the isle that day, were spectators of this diversion, and were offended at it, being done without their consent; they therefore devised an expedient, which at once robbed the seamen of their eggs and the breeches; it was thus, they found a few loose stones in the superficies of the rock, some of which they let fall down perpendicularly above the seamen, the

There are about forty stone pyramids in this isle, for drying and preserving their fowl, &c. These little houses are all of loose stones, and seen at some distance; here is also a surprising number of fowl, the grass as well as the rocks filled with them. The Solan geese possess it for the most part; they are always masters wherever they come, and have already banished several species of fowl from this isle.

An earthquake was felt here in the year 1686, which lasted only a few minutes; it was very amazing to the poor people, who were unacquainted with any such commotion before, or since.

To the west of Borera lies the rock Stack-narmin, within pistol shot; this rock is half a mile in circumference, and as inaccessible as any of the above-mentioned; there is a possibility of landing only in two places; nor that but in a perfect calm, and after landing the danger in climbing is very great. The rock has neither earth nor grass to cover it, has a fountain of good water issuing out above the middle of it, running easterly, and abounds with Solan geese and other fowl; here are several stone pyramids, as well for lodging the inhabitants that attend the seasons of the Solan geese, as for those that preserve and dry them. The sea rises and rages extremely upon this rock: We had the curiosity, being invited by a fair day, to visit it for pleasure, but we found it very hazardous; the waves from under our boat rebounding from off the rock, and mounting over our heads, we durst not venture to land, though men with ropes were sent before us; we thought it indeed hazard enough to be near this

rock; the wind blowing fresh, we had much difficulty to reach St. Kilda again. I remember they brought 800 of the preceding year's Solan geese dried in the pyramids; after our landing, the geese being cast together in one heap upon the ground, the owners fell to share out each man his own; at which I was a little surprised, they being all of a tribe; but having found upon inquiry that every goose carried a distinguishing mark on the foot, peculiar to the owner, I was then satisfied in this piece of singularity.

There is a violent current, whether ebb or flood, upon all the coasts of St. Kilda, the lesser isles and rocks. It is observed to be more impetuous with spring than neap tides; there are eddies on all the coasts, except at a sharp point where the tides keep their due course; the ebb southerly, and flood northerly.

A S. E. moon causes high tide; the spring tides are always at the full and new moon; the two days following they are higher, and from that time decrease until the increase of the moon again, with which it rises gradually till the second after the full moon. This observation the seamen find to hold true betwixt the mule of Kantyre, and the Farrow head in Strathnaver.

The land fowls produced here are hawks extraordinary good, eagles, plovers, crows, wrens, stonechacker, craker, cuckoo; this last is said very rarely to be seen here, and that upon extraordinary occasions, such as the death of the proprietor Macleod, the steward's death, or the arrival of some notable

stranger. I was not able to forbear laughing at this relation, as founded only upon fancy; which I no sooner expressed, than the inhabitants wondered at my incredulity, saying, that all their ancestors for a series of several ages had remarked the truth of this observation, and for a further confirmation appealed to the present steward, whether he had not known this observation to have been true, both in his own and his father's time, who was also steward before him? After a particular inquiry, he told me, that both in his own and father's life time the truth of the observation had been constantly believed, and that several of the inhabitants now living have observed the cuckoo to have appeared after the death of the two last proprietors, and the two last stewards, and also before the arrival of several strangers; it was taken notice of before our arrival, which they ascribe to my coming there, as the only stranger; the minister having been there before.

The sea-fowl are, first, Gairfowl, being the stateliest, as well as the largest sort, and above the size of a Solan goose, of a black colour, red about the eyes, a large white spot under each, a long broad bill; it stands stately, its whole body erected, its wings short, flies not at all; lays its egg upon the bare rock, which, if taken away, she lays no more for that year; she is whole footed, and has the hatching spot upon her breast, i. e. a bare spot from which the feathers have fallen off with the heat in hatching; its egg is twice as big as that of a Solan goose, and is variously spotted, black, green, and dark; it comes without regard to any wind,

appears the first of May, and goes away about the middle of June.

The Solan geese, as some imagine from the Irish word *Sou'l-er*, corrupted and adapted to the Scottish language, *qui oculis irretortis e longinquo respicit prædam*, equals a common goose in bigness; is by measure from the tip of the bill to the extremity of the foot, thirty-four inches long, and to the end of the tail, thirty-nine; the wings extend very far, there being seventy-two inches distance betwixt the extreme tips; its bill is long, strait, of a dark colour, a little crooked at the point; behind the eyes the skin of the side of the head is bare of feathers; the ears small; the eyes hazel coloured; it hath four toes; the feet and legs black as far as they are bare; the plumage is like that of a goose. The colour of the old ones is white all over, excepting the extreme tips of the wings, which are black, and the top of the head, which is yellow, as some think the effect of age. The young ones are of a hard brown colour, turning white after they are a year old; its egg somewhat less than that of a land goose, small at each end, and casts a thick scurf, and has little or no yolk; the inhabitants are accustomed to drink it raw, having from experience found it very pectoral, and cephalic. The Solan geese hatch by turns. When it returns from its fishing, it carries five or six herrings in its gorget, all entire and undigested: Upon its arrival at the nest, the hatching fowl puts its head in the fisher's throat, and pulls out the fish with its bill as with a pincer, and that with very great noise, which I had occasion frequently to observe. They continue to pluck grass

for their nests from their coming in March till the young fowl is ready to fly in August or September, according as the inhabitants take or leave the first or second eggs. It is remarkable they never pluck grass but on a windy day; the reason the inhabitants give for this is, that a windy day is their vacation from fishing, and they bestow it upon this employment, which proves fatal to many of them; for after their fatigue they often fall asleep, and the inhabitants, taking the opportunity, are ready at hand to knock them on the head. Their food is herring, mackarel, and syes. English hooks are often found in the stomachs both of young and old Solan geese, though none of this kind are used nearer than the isles twenty leagues distant; this must happen either from the fish pulling away the hooks in those iles and then going to St. Kilda, or by their being carried thither by the old geese.

The Solan geese are always the surest sign of herrings, for wherever the one is seen, the other is never far off. There is a tribe of barren Solan geese which have no nests, and sit upon the bare rock; these are not the young fowls of a year old, whose dark colour would soon distinguish them, but old ones, in all things like the rest: these have a province, as it were, allotted them, and are in a separate state, having a rock two hundred paces distant from all other; neither do they meddle with, or approach to those hatching, or any other fowl; they sympathize and fish together; this was told me by the inhabitants, and afterwards confirmed several times by my own observation.

The Solan geese have always some of their num-

ber keeping centry in the night, and if they are surprised, as it often happens, all the flock are taken one after another; but if the centinel be awake at the approach of the creeping fowlers, and hear a noise, it cries softly, *grog, grog*, at which the flock move not; but if the centinel sees or hears the fowler approaching, he cries quickly, *bir, bir*, which should seem to import danger, since immediately after, the whole tribe take wing, leaving the fowler alone on the rock to return home *re infecta*, all his labour for that night being spent in vain. Apollonius Tyanæus might have here found a large field of diversion, who is said to have travelled over many kingdoms, to learn the language of beasts and birds.

Besides this way of stealing upon them in the night time, they are also catched in common gins of horse hair, from which they struggle less to extricate themselves than any other fowl, notwithstanding their size and strength; they are also caught in the herring loches with a board set on purpose to float above water, upon it a herring is fixed, which the goose perceiving, flies up to a competent height, till finding himself in a straight line above the fish, bends his course perpendicular piercing the air, as an arrow from a bow, hits the board, into which he runs his bill with all his force, and is irrecoverably taken. The Solan goose comes about the middle of March with a S. W. wind, warm snow, or rain, and goes away, according as the inhabitants determine the time, i. e. by taking away, or leaving its egg, whether at the first, second, or third time he lays.

The Fulmar in bigness equals the Malls of the second rate; its wings very long, the outside of which are of a greyish white colour, the inside and breast all white, a thick bill two inches long, crooked and prominent at the end, with wide nostrils in the middle, all of a pale colour; the upper mandible, or jaw, hangs over the lower on both sides, and at the point, the feet pale, not very broad, with sharp toes, and a back toe; it picks food out of the backs of living whales, it, as is said, uses sorrel with it, for both are found in its nest; it lays its egg commonly the first, second, or third day of May, which is larger than that of a Solan goose egg, of a white colour, and very thin, the shell so very tender that it breaks in pieces if the season prove rainy; when the egg is once taken away it lays no more that year like other fowl; the young ones are hatched in the middle of June, and are ready to take wing before the twentieth of July; it comes in November, the sure messenger of evil tidings, being always accompanied with boisterous W. winds, great snow, rain, or hail, and is the only sea-fowl that stays here all the year, except the month of September, and part of October. The inhabitants prefer this, whether young or old, to all other; the old is of a delicate taste, is a mixture of fat and lean; the flesh white, no blood to be found but in the head and neck; the young is all fat except the bones, having no blood but in the head, and when the young Fulmar is ready to take wing, upon being approached, ejects a quantity of pure oil out at his bill, and will be certain to hit any that attack him in the face, though seven paces distant; this he

uses by way of defence; but the inhabitants take care to prevent it, by surprising the fowl behind, having for this purpose a wooden dish fixed to the end of their rods, which they hold before his bill as he spouts out the oil; they surprise him also from behind, by taking hold of his bill, which they tie with a thread, and upon their return home they untie it with a dish under to receive the oil, this oil is sometimes of a reddish, sometimes of a yellow colour, and the inhabitants and other islanders put a great value upon it, and use it as a catholicon for diseases, especially for pains in the bones, stitches, &c. some in the adjacent isles use it as a purge, others as an emetic; it is hot in quality, and forces its passage through any wooden vessel.

The Fulmar is a sure prognosticator of the W. wind; if it comes to land, no W. wind is to be expected for some time, but if it keeps at sea, or goes to sea from the land, whether the wind blow from the S. N. or E. or whether it is a perfect calm, his keeping the sea is always a certain presage of an approaching W. wind; from this quarter he is observed to return with his prey; its egg is large as that of a Solan goose, white in colour, sharp at one end, somewhat blunt at the other.

The Scraber, so called in St. Kilda, in the Farn islands, Puffinet, in Holland the Greenland dove, has a small bill sharp pointed, a little crooked at the end, and prominent; it is as large as a pigeon, its whole body being black, except a white spot on each wing, its egg grey, sharp at one end, and blunt at the other.

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about the 20th of May, and produces the fowl towards the middle of October, then goes away about the end of November.

There are three sorts of Sea-malls here; the first of a grey colour like a Goose, the second considerably less, and of a grey colour, and the third sort white and less in size than a tame Duck: the inhabitants call it Reddag: it comes the 15th of April with a S. W. wind, lays its egg about the middle of May, and goes away in the month of August.

The Tirma, or Sea-pie, by the inhabitants called Trilichan, comes in May, goes away in August; if it comes the beginning of May, it is a sign of a good summer; if later, the contrary is observed. This fowl is cloven-footed, and consequently swims not.

It is observed of all the sea-fowls here, that they are fattest in time of hatching, except the Solan geese.

Every fowl lays an egg three different times except the Gair-fowl and Fulmar, which lay but once; if the first or second egg be taken away, every fowl lays but one other egg that year, except the sea-malls, and they ordinarily lay the third egg, whether the first and second eggs be taken away, or no.

The inhabitants observe, that when the April moon goes far in May, the fowls are ten or twelve days later in laying their eggs, than ordinarily they use to be.

The inhabitants likewise say, that of these fowls, there first come over some spies, or harbingers, especially of the Solan geese, towering about the islands where their nests are, and that when they have made a review thereof, they fly away, and in

two or three days after, the whole tribe are seen coming. Whither the fowls fly and where they spend their winter, the inhabitants are utterly ignorant of.

The eggs are found to be of an astringent and windy quality to strangers, but, it seems, are not so to the inhabitants, who are used to eat them from the nest. Our men upon their arrival eating greedily of them became costive and feverish; some had the hemorrhoid veins swelled; Mr. Campbell and I were at no small trouble before we could reduce them to their ordinary temper; we ordered a glister for them made of the roots of sedges, fresh butter, and salt, which, being administered, had its wished-for effect; the inhabitants reckoned this an extraordinary performance, being, it seems, the first of the kind they had ever heard of.

They preserve their eggs commonly in their stone pyramids, scattering the burnt ashes of turf under and about them, to defend them from the air, dryness being their only preservative, and moisture their corruption; they preserve them six, seven or eight months, as above said; and then they become appetizing and loosening, especially those that begin to turn.

That such a great number of wild fowl are so tame, as to be easily taken by the rods and gins, is not to be much admired by any who will be at the pains to consider the reason, which is the great inclination of propagating their species; so powerful is the natural affection for their offspring, that they choose rather to die upon the egg, or fowl, than escape with their own lives, (which they could do

in a minute) and leave either of these to be destroyed.

It deserves our consideration to reflect seriously upon the natural propensity and sagacity of these animals in their kind; which, if compared with many rational creatures, do far outstrip them, and justly obey the prescript of their natures, by living up unto that instinct that providence has given them.

The inhabitants here are originally descended of those of the adjacent isles, Lewis, Harries, South and North Uist, and Sky: both sexes are naturally grave, and of a fair complexion; such as are not fair are natives only for an age or two; but their offspring proves fairer than themselves.

There are several of them would be reckoned among beauties of the first rank, were they upon a level with others in their dress.

Both men and women are well proportioned, nothing differing from those of the isles and continent. The present generation comes short of the last in strength and longevity. They showed us huge big stones carried by the fathers of some of the inhabitants now living; any of which is a burthen too heavy for any two of the present inhabitants to raise from the ground; and this change is all within the compass of forty years. But notwithstanding this, any one inhabiting St. Kilda is always reputed stronger than two of the inhabitants belonging to the isle of Harries, or the adjacent isles. Those of St. Kilda have generally but very thin beards, and those too do not appear till they arrive at the age of thirty, and in some not till after thir-

ty-five; they have all but a few hairs upon the upper lip, and point of the chin.

Both sexes have a lisp, but more especially the women, neither of them pronouncing the letters, d, g, or r. I remember a story of a Craker that lisped (two years ago), the boys of the place took notice of, and were pleased to hear him, and to ape his cry; one of the steward's men beholding them, inquired the meaning of their noise, which he told them was ridiculous; they returned answer, that it was worth his while to behold the sport of a lisping Craker, whom they aped; but the man replied, that they played the fool, for the Craker diverted himself in lisping after them, and charged them with that imperfection; the boys no sooner heard this, but away they ran, and left the Craker to cry and lisp as he pleased.

There are some of both sexes who have a genius for poetry, and are great admirers of music: the trump or Jews'-harp is the only musical instrument they have, which disposes them to dance mightily. Their sight is extraordinary good, and they can discern things at a great distance: they have very good memories, and are resolute in their undertakings, chaste and honest, but reputed jealous of their wives. They argue closely, and with less passion than other islanders, or those inhabiting the highlands on the continent.

They are very cunning, and there is scarce any circumventing of them in traffic and bartering: the voice of one is the voice of all, being all of a piece, one common interest uniting them firmly together. They marry very young, the women about thirteen

or fourteen; and are nice in examining the degrees of consanguinity before marriage. They give suck to their children for two years. The most ancient person among them at present is not above eighty years old.

Providence is very favourable to them in that, they are not infested with several diseases which are so predominant in the other parts of the world; the distemper that most prevails here, is a spotted fever, and that too confined to one tribe to whom this disease is, as it were, become hereditary: others are liable to fluxes, fevers, pleurisies, and the spleen; for all which they have but a few remedies: to get away their pleuritic disorders, they commonly lie upon a warm hearth, with the side affected downwards; this they look upon as almost infallible for dispelling the humour, or wind, that torments them. The small-pox hath not been heard of in this place for several ages, except in one instance, of a single man who had been infected on the arrival of two of the steward's retinue, who had not been well recovered of it.

The plants produced here, are Lapathum Vulgare, the common dock, Scurvy-grass round being large as the palm of the hand, Mille-foil, Bursa pastoris, Silver-weed or Argentine, Plantine, Sage, Chicken-weed, Sorrell, long or the common Sorrell; All-hail or Siderites, the Sea-pinck, Tormentil, the Scurf upon the stones which has a drying and healing quality, and is likewise used for dyeing. The inhabitants are ignorant of the virtues of these herbs; they never had a potion of physic given them in their lives, nor know any thing of phlebotomy; so

that a physician could not expect his bread in this commonwealth.

They have generally good voices and sound lungs; to this the Solan goose egg supped raw doth not a little contribute; they are seldom troubled with a cough, except at the steward's landing, which is no less rare, than firmly believed by the inhabitants of the adjacent isles.

Those of St. Kilda, upon the whole, gave me this following account: that they always contract a cough upon the steward's landing, and it proves a great deal more troublesome to them in the night-time, they then discharging a great deal of phlegm; this indisposition continues for some ten, twelve, or fourteen days; the most sovereign remedy against this disease, is their great and beloved catholicon, the Giben, i. e. the fat of their fowls, with which they stuff the stomach of a Solan goose, in fashion of a pudding; this they put in the infusion of oat-meal, which in their language they call Brochan; but it is not so effectual now as at the beginning, because of the frequent use of it. I told them plainly, that I thought all this notion of infection was but a mere fancy, and that, at least, it could not always hold; at which they seemed offended, saying, that never any man, before the minister and myself, was heard to doubt of the truth of it; which is plainly demonstrated upon the landing of every boat; adding further, that every design was always for some end, but here there was no room for any, where nothing could be proposed; but for confirmation of the whole, they appealed to the case of infants at the breast, who were likewise very

subject to this cough, but could not be capable of affecting it, and therefore, in their opinion, they were infected by such as lodged in their houses. There were scarce young or old in the isle whom I did not examine particularly upon this head, and all agreed in the confirmation of it. They add further, that when any foreign goods are brought thither, then the cough is of longer duration than otherwise. They remark, that if the fever has been among those of the steward's retinue, though before their arrival there, some of the inhabitants are infected with it. If any of the inhabitants of St. Kilda chance to live, though but a short space, in the isles of Harries, Sky, or any of the adjacent isles, they become meagre, and contract such a cough, that the Giben must be had, or else they must return to their native soil. This Giben is more sovereign for removing of coughs, being used by many other islanders, than those of St. Kilda. They love to have it frequently in their meat as well as drink, by which too frequent use of it, it is apt to lose its virtue; it was remarkable, that after this infected cough was over, we strangers, and the inhabitants of St. Kilda, making up the number of about two hundred and fifty, though we had frequently assembled upon the occasion of divine service, yet neither young nor old among us all did so much as once cough more.

Some thirteen years ago, the leprosy broke out among them, and some of their number died by it; there are two families at present labouring under this disease. The symptoms of it are, their feet beginning to fail, their appetite declining, their

faces becoming too red, and breaking out in pimples, a hoarseness, and their hair falling off from their heads, the crown of it exulcerates and blisters; and lastly, their beards grow thinner than ordinary.

This disease may in a large measure be ascribed to their gross feeding, and that on those fat fowls, as the Fulmar and the Solan geese; the latter of which they keep for the space of a whole year, without salt or pepper to preserve them: these they eat roasted or boiled.

One of these lepers, being with me one day at the Fulmar-rock, importuned me to give him a remedy for his disease; I began to chide him for his ill diet in feeding so grosly; but finding the poor fellow ready and implicitly disposed to do whatever I should enjoin, I bid him take example from the Fulmar, who, they say, feeds sometimes upon Sorrel; this was a very surprising advice to him, but when he considered that the Fulmar required Sorrel to qualify the whale, he was the sooner persuaded that his Giben and Goose might require the same; I advised him further, to abstain from the Giben and fat fowls, which was no small trouble to him, for he loved them exceedingly: I obliged him likewise to mount the hill Conagor, a mile in height, once every morning and evening, and he was very careful to comply with those injunctions for the space of three days; in which short time he made some advances towards recovering his almost lost speech and appetite, for his throat was pretty nearly stopped up. He continued this practice a week longer, by which means he mended considerably;

and I left him fully resolved to proceed in this practice, until he was perfectly restored to his former state of health. I had the occasion to observe another of there lepers rave for some minutes, and when he was recovered to his right mind, he worked at his ordinary employment.

The inhabitants are Christians, and much of the primitive temper, neither inclined to enthusiasm nor to popery. They swear not the common oaths, that prevail in the world; when they refuse or deny to give what is asked them, they do it with a strong asseveration, which they express emphatically enough in their language to this purpose, 'You are no more to have it, than if God had forbid it;' and thus they express the highest degree of passion. They do not so much as name the devil once in their lifetimes.

They leave off working at twelve o'clock on Saturday, as an ancient custom delivered down to them from their ancestors, and go no more to it again till Monday morning. They believe in God the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost, in a future state of happiness and misery, and that all events whether good or bad, are predetermined by God. They use a set form of prayer at the hoisting of their sails; they lie down at night, rise again in the morning, and begin their labours always in the name of God. They have a notion, that spirits are embodied, and fancy them to be locally in the rocks, hills, or wherever they list, in an instant.

Here are three chapels, each of them built with one end towards the east, the other towards the west, the altar always placed at the east end; the

first of these is called Christ chapel, near the village, it is covered and thatched after the manner of their houses; there is a brazen crucifix lies upon the altar, not exceeding a foot in length, the body is completely done, distended, and has a crown on, all in the crucified posture, they have it in great reverence, though they pay no kind of adoration or worship to it, nor do they either handle or see it, except upon the occasions of marriage, and swearing decisive oaths, which puts an end to all strife, and both these ceremonies are publicly performed. The church-yard is about an hundred paces in circumference, fenced in with a little stone wall; within which they bury their dead; and take care to keep it perfectly neat, void of any kind of nastiness, nor suffer their cattle to have any access to it. The inhabitants, young and old, come to the church-yard every Sunday morning, the chapel not being capacious enough to receive them; here they devoutly say the Lord's prayer, creed, and ten commandments.

They observe the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good Friday, St. Columba's Day, and that of All Saints; upon this they have an anniversary cavalcade, the number of their horses not exceeding eighteen, these they mount by turns, having neither saddle nor indeed a bridle of any kind, except a rope, which manages the horse only on one side; they ride from the shore to the house, and when each man has performed his tour, the show is at an end. They are very charitable to their poor, of whom there are not at present above three, and these carefully provided for, by this little commonwealth,

each particular family contributing according to their ability for their necessities; their condition is inquired into weekly, or monthly, as their occasions serve, but more especially at the time of their festivals, they slay some sheep on purpose to distribute among the poor, with bread proportionable; they are very charitable likewise to strangers in distress; this they had opportunity to express to a company of Frenchmen and Spaniards who lost their ship at Rokol in the year 1686, and came in, in a pinnace to St. Kilda, where they were plentifully supplied with barley bread, butter, cheese, Solan geese, eggs, &c. Both seamen and inhabitants were barbarians one to another, the inhabitants speaking only the Irish tongue, to which the French and Spaniards were altogether strangers. Upon their landing they pointed to the west naming Rokol to the inhabitants, and after that, they pointed downward with their finger, signifying the sinking and perishing of their vessel; they showed them Rokol in the sea map, far west off St. Kilda. This, and much more, the masters of these ships told to a priest in the next island who understood French. The inhabitants acquainted me that the pinnace which carried the seamen from Rokol was so very low, that the crew added a foot height of canvas round it all, and began to work at it upon Sunday, at which the inhabitants were astonished, and being highly dissatisfied, plucked the hatchets and other instruments out of their hands, and did not restore them till Monday morning.

The inhabitants had occasion to show great kindness to a boat's crew that was driven from the oppo-

site isle S. W. whither they themselves were driven afterwards, and where they were treated with no less civility and kindness than the above-mentioned had been by them: So that it may be said of them with great justice, that their charity is as extensive as the occasions of it.

The second of these chapels bears the name of St. Columba, the third of St. Brianan; both built after the manner of Christ's Chapel; having church-yards belonging to them, and are a quarter of a mile distant from each other.

They told me of a ship that dropped anchor in the mouth of the bay the preceding year, and that the lowlanders aboard her were not Christians; I inquired if their interpreter, who they said spoke bad Irish, had owned this to be a truth. They answered in the negative, but they knew this by their practices, and that in these three particulars; the first was the working upon Sunday, carrying several boats full of stones aboard for ballast; the second was the taking away some of their cows without any return for them, except a few Irish copper pieces; and the third was, the attempt made by them to ravish the women, a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda, where there has not been one instance of fornication or adultery for many ages before this time. I remember they told me, that the bribe offered for debauching the poor women, was a piece of broad money, than which there could be nothing less charming in a place where the inhabitants made no distinction betwixt a guinea and a sixpence.

Their marriages are celebrated after the follow-

ing manner: When any two of them have agreed to take one another for man and wife, the officer who presides over them, summons all the inhabitants of both sexes to Christ's Chapel, where being assembled, he inquires publicly if there be any lawful impediment why these parties should not be joined in the bond of matrimony? And if there be no objection to the contrary, he then inquires of the parties if they are resolved to live together in weal and wo, &c. After their assent he declares them married persons, and then desires them to ratify this their solemn promise in the presence of God and the people, in order to which the crucifix is tendered to them, and both put their right hands upon it, as the ceremony by which they swear fidelity one to another during their lifetime.

Mr. Campbell, the minister, married in this manner fifteen pair of the inhabitants on the seventeenth of June, who immediately after their marriage joined in a country dance, with a bagpipe for their music, which pleased them exceedingly.

They baptize in the following manner: The parent calls in the officer, or any of his neighbours, to baptize his child, and another to be sponsor; he that performs the minister's part being told what the child's name is to be, says, 'A. B. I baptize thee to your father and your mother, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost;' then the sponsor takes the child in his arms, as doth his wife as godmother, and ever after this there is a friendship between the parent and sponsor, which is esteemed so sacred and inviolable, that no accident, how cross soever, is able to set them at vari-

ance; and it reconciles such as have been at enmity formerly.

This isle belongs in property to the laird of Macleod, head of one of the most ancient families of Scotland; it is never farmed, but most commonly bestowed upon some favourite, one of his friends or followers, who is called steward of the isle. The present steward's name is Alexander Macleod, who pays yearly to his master an acknowledgment of the various products of this ile. This steward visits St. Kilda every summer, and upon his arrival he and his retinue have all the milk in the isle bestowed on them in a treat; there is another bestowed on them upon St. Columba's day, the fifteenth of June; and we had a share of this second treat. The steward's retinue consists of forty, fifty, or sixty persons, and among them, perhaps, the most meagre in the parish are carried thither to be recruited with good cheer; but this retinue is now retrenched, as also some of their ancient and unreasonable exactions.

The steward lives upon the charge of the inhabitants until the time that the Solan geese are ready to fly, which the inhabitants think long enough; the daily allowance paid by them is very regularly exacted, with regard to their respective proportions of lands and rocks. There is not a parcel of men in the world more scrupulously nice and punctilious in maintaining their liberties and properties than these are, being most religiously fond of their ancient laws and statutes; nor will they by any means consent to alter their first, though unreasonable constitutions; and we had a pregnant instance of

this their genius for preserving their ancient customs; they have unchangeably continued their first and ancient measures, as the Maile, Amir, and Cubit; this Maile contains ten pecks; the Amir, which they at present make use of, is probably the Hebrew Omer, which contains near two pecks; the Cubit, or in their language, Lave Keile, i. e. an hand of wood, is the distance from the elbow to the finger's ends, this they only use in measuring their boats: The Amir, or rather half Amir, as they call it, is composed of thin boards, and, as they acknowledge, has been used these fourscore years, in which tract of time it is considerably fallen short of the measure of which it was at first, which they themselves do not altogether deny; the steward, to compensate this loss, pretends to a received custom of adding the hand of him that measures the corn to the Amir side, holding some of the barley above the due measure, which the inhabitants complain of as unreasonable; the steward to satisfy them, offered to refer the debate to Mr. Campbell's decision and mine, they themselves being to propose their objections, and two of his retinue, who were well skilled with the customs of the place, in the time of some of the former stewards, being appointed to answer them, and he promised that he would acquiesce in the decision, though it should prove to his prejudice; but they would not alter that measure if Macleod did not expressly command it, being persuaded that he could not attempt to do so, as his and their ancestors had had it in such esteem for so many ages. So great was their concern about this Amir,

that they unanimously determined to send the officer as envoy, according to the ancient custom, to represent their case to Macleod; this was the result of a general council, in which the master of every family has a vote, since every family pays this officer an Amir of barley per annum, to maintain his character.

This officer as such, is obliged to adjust the respective proportions of lands, grass, and rocks, and what else could be claimed by virtue of the last tack, or lease, which is never longer than for three years, condescended to by the steward; nay, he is obliged always to dispute with the steward for what is due to any of them, and never to give over until he has obtained his demand, or put the steward into such a passion, that he gives the officer at least three strokes with his cudgel upon the crown of his head, which is the utmost that is required of him by their ancient customs. I said to the officer, who gave me this account, what if the steward should give him but one blow? He answered, that the inhabitants would not be satisfied if he did not so far plead as to irritate the steward to give both a second and third: I had the further curiosity to inquire of the steward himself if he was wont to treat the officer in this manner; who answered, that it was an ancient custom, which in his short time he had not had occasion to practise, but if he should, he would not confine himself to the number of three blows, if the officer should prove indiscreet.

The steward bestows some acres of land upon the officer for serving him and the inhabitants; he gives

him likewise the bonnet worn by himself upon his going out of the island; the steward's wife leaves with the officer's wife, the kircher, or head-dress worn by herself, and she bestows likewise upon her an ounce of indigo. The steward has a large cake of Barley presented to him by the officer at every meal, and it must be made so large as shall be sufficient to satisfy three men at a time, and by way of eminence it is baked in the form of a triangle, and furrowed twice round; the officer is obliged to furnish the steward with mutton, or beef to his dinner every Sunday during his residence in the island.

Notwithstanding these reciprocal acts of kindness, this officer must be allowed to go in quality of an envoy to Macleod against the steward, upon extraordinary occasions, if the commonwealth have any grievances to redress, as that of the Amir now depending; but the commission given him is limited, the whole boat's crew being joined in commission with him, and are a check upon him lest his dependance upon the steward might be apt to bias him. He makes his entry very submissively, taking off his bonnet at a great distance when he appears in Macleod's presence, bowing his head and hand low near to the ground, his retinue doing the like behind him one after another, making, as it were, a chain; this being their manner of walking both at home and abroad, for they walk not abreast as others do; and in making their purchase among the rocks, one leads the van, and the rest follow.

The number of people inhabiting this isle, at present, is about one hundred and eighty, who in

the steward's absence are governed by one Donald Mack-Gill-Colm, as their Meijre, which imports an officer. This officer was anciently chosen, or at least approved of, by the people, before the steward settled him in his office, but now the stewards have the nomination of him absolutely; he is president over them in all their debates, takes care that the lots be managed impartially, that none to whose share they fall may have cause to repine, whether it be for the steward's service, or that of the commonwealth. The use of the lots, together with the crucifix, do mightily contribute to their peace and quiet, keeping every one within his proper bounds. It must needs be a very odd case indeed that falls not within the compass of either of these to determine. When any case happens which does not fall under the decision of lots, and it is capable of being decided only by the oath of the parties, then the crucifix must determine the matter; and if it should prove to be a case of the highest importance, any of them are at liberty to refer it to his neighbour's oath, without any suspicion of perjury, provided the ceremony of touching the crucifix with their right hand be observed; and this is always publicly performed.

If any man is guilty of beating his neighbour, he is liable to a fine not exceeding the value of two shillings sterling; if any has beat his neighbour so as to draw blood from him, he is liable to a fine, not exceeding four shillings and sixpence. These crimes are complained of by the officer to the steward upon his arrival; who either exacts the whole,

or dispenses with the fines, as he judges convenient for their future quiet and peace.

They have only one common kiln, which serves them all by turn, as the lots fall to their share; he whose lot happens to be last does not resent it at all.

The officer, by virtue of his place, is obliged through a point of honour to be the first that lands in the lesser isles and rocks, from whence they carry their fowls and eggs, and not without some trouble too. This notion of honour exposes him to frequent dangers; and, perhaps, it may not be unpleasant to describe it as I have seen it practised, and it is thus: When they come as near to the rock as they think may consist with the safety of the boat, which is not a little tossed by the raging of the sea, those, whose turn it is, are employed with poles to keep off the boat, which is in great danger, in regard of the violence of the waves beating upon the rock, and they are to watch the opportunity of the calmest wave; upon the first appearance of which the officer jumps out upon the rock, if there be any apparent danger he ties a rope about his middle, with one end of it fastened to the boat; if he has landed safe, he then fixes his feet in a secure place, and by the assistance of this rope draws up all the crew to him, except those whose turn it is to look after the boat; but if in jumping out he falls into the sea, as his misfortune is so to do sometimes, he is drawn into the boat again by that part of the rope that is so fastened to it, and then the next, whose turn it is, must try his luck, the officer after his fall being supposed to be sufficiently fatigued, so that he is not obliged to adventure his person again to a second hazard upon this

occasion, especially as he is exposed to the greatest danger that offers upon their landing when they return back again to the isle, where the sea often rages, he being obliged then by virtue of his office to stay in the boat, after the whole crew are landed, where he must continue employing his pole, until the boat be either brought safe to land, or split upon the rocks.

They furnish themselves with ropes to carry them through the more inaccessible rocks; of these ropes there are only three in the whole island, each of them twenty-four fathoms in length; and they are either knit together and lengthened by tying the one to the other, or used separately as occasion requires; the chief thing upon which the strength of these ropes depends, is cows' hides salted, and cut out in one long piece; this they twist round the ordinary rope of hemp, which secures it from being cut by the rocks; they join sometimes at the lower end two ropes, one of which they tie about the middle of one climber, and another about the middle of another, that these may assist one another in case of a fall; but the misfortune is, that sometimes the one happens to pull down the other, and so both fall into the sea; but if they escape, as they commonly do of late, they get an incredible number of eggs and fowls.

The ropes belong to the commonwealth, and are not to be used without the general consent; the lots determine the time, place, and persons for using them; they get together in three days a much greater number of fowls and eggs than their boat is able to carry away, and therefore what is over

and above they leave behind in their stone pyramids. They catch their fowls with gins made of horse hair, these are tied to the end of their fishing rods, with which the fowlers creep through the rocks indiscernably, putting the noose over their heads and about their necks, and so draw them instantly; they use likewise hair gins which they set upon plain rocks, both the ends fastened by a stone, and so catch forty or fifty a day with them.

The inhabitants, I must tell you, run no small danger in quest of these fowls and eggs, insomuch that I fear it would be thought an hyperbole to relate the inaccessibleness, steepness, and height, of those formidable rocks which they venture to climb. I myself have seen some of them climb up the corner of a rock with their backs to it, making use only of their heels and elbows, without any other assistance, and they have this way acquired a dexterity in climbing beyond any I ever yet saw; necessity has made them apply themselves to this, and custom has perfected them in it; so that it is become familiar to them almost from their cradles, the young boys at three years old begin to climb the walls of houses. Their frequent discourses of climbing, together with the fatal end of several in the exercise of it, is the same to them, as that of fighting and killing is with soldiers, and is become as familiar and less formidable to them, than otherwise certainly it would be. I saw two young men, to whose share the lots fell in June last, for taking the nest of a hawk, which was in a high rock above the sea, bringing home the hawks in a few minutes, without any assistance at all.

Their dogs are likewise very dextrous in climbing and bringing out from their holes those fowls which build their nests far under ground, such as the scraber, puffinet, &c. which they carry in their teeth to their masters, letting them fall upon the ground before them, though asleep.

The inhabitants speak the Irish tongue only; they express themselves slowly but pertinently, and have the same language with those of Harries and other isles, who retain the Irish in its purity.

Their habit anciently was of sheepskins, which has been wore by several of the inhabitants now living; the men at this day wear a short doublet reaching to their waste, about that a double plait of plad, both ends joined together with the bone of a fulmar; this plad reaches no further than their knees, and is above the waist girt with a leather belt; thay wear caps of the same colour and shape with the Capuchines, but shorter; and on Sundays they wear bonnets; some of late have got breeches, they are made wide and open at the knees; they wear cloth stockings, and go without shoes in summer; their leather is dressed with the roots of Tormentil.

The women wear upon their heads a linen dress, strait before, and drawing to a small point behind below the shoulders, a foot and an half in length, and a lock of about sixty hairs hanging down each cheek, to their breasts, the lower end tied with a knot; their plad, which is the upper garment, is fastened upon their breasts with a large round buckle of brass in form of a circle; the buckles anciently worn by the steward's wives were of silver,

but the present steward's wife makes no use of either this dress or buckle. The women inhabiting this isle wear no shoes nor stockings in the summer time; their ordinary and only shoes are made of the necks of Solan geese, which they cut above the eyes, the crown of the head serves for the heel, the whole skin being cut close at the breast, which end being sowed, the foot enters into it, as into a piece of narrow stocking; this shoe does not last above five days, and if the downy side be next the ground, then not above three or four; however, there are plenty of them, some thousands being catched, or as they term it, stolen every March.

Both sexes wear coarse flannel shirts, which they put off when they go to bed; they thicken their clothes upon flakes, or mats of hay twisted and woven together in small ropes; they work hard at this employment, first making use of their hands, and then of their feet; when they are at this work they commonly sing the whole time, one of their number acting the part of a prime chantress, whom all the rest follow.

They place the faces of their dead towards the east when they bury them, bewail their relations excessively, and upon these occasions make doleful songs, which they call laments. Upon the news of the late Macleod's death, they abandoned their houses, and mourned two days in the fields. They kill a cow, or a sheep, before the interment, unless it be in the spring, when this ceremony is, on account of the cattle being at that time poor and lean, deferred till they become fat.

Their ordinary food is barley and some oat bread

baked with water; they eat all the fowl already described, being dried in their stone houses, without any salt or spice to preserve them; and all their beef and mutton is eat fresh, after the same manner they use the giben, or fat of their fowls; this giben is by daily experience found to be a sovereign remedy for the healing of green wounds; it cured a cancer in an inhabitant of the isle of Lewis, and a fistula in one Nicholson in Sky, in St. Mary's Parish; this was performed by John Maclean, surgeon there: They boil the sea plants, dulse, and slake, melting the giben upon them in stead of butter, and upon the roots of silver weed and dock boiled, and also with their scurvy grass stoved, which is very purgative, and is here of an extraordinary breadth. They use this giben with their fish, and it is become the common vehicle that conveys all their food down their throats. They are undone for want of salt, of which as yet they are but little sensible; they use no set times for their meals, but are determined purely by their appetites.

They use only the ashes of sea-ware for salting their cheese, and the shortest only, which grows in the rocks, is used by them; that being reckoned the mildest.

Their drink is water, or whey, commonly: They brew ale but rarely, using the juice of nettle-roots, which they put in a dish with a little barley-meal dough; these sowens, (i. e. flummery) being blended together, produce yest, which puts their wort into a ferment and makes good ale, which,

when drank plentifully of, generally disposes them to dance merrily.

They preserve the solan geese in their pyramids for the space of a year, slitting them down the back, for they have no salt to keep them with. They have built above five hundred of these stone pyramids for their fowls, eggs, &c.

We made particular inquiry after the number of solan geese consumed by each family in the year before we came there, and it amounted in the whole to twenty-two thousand six hundred, which they said was less than the ordinary number, a great many being lost by the badness of the season, and the great current into which they are obliged to be thrown when taken, the rock being of so extraordinary a height, that they cannot reach the boat.

There is one boat sixteen cubits long, which serves the whole commonwealth; it is very curiously divided into apartments proportionable to their lands and rocks; every individual has his space distinguished to a hair's breadth, which his neighbour cannot encroach so much as to lay an egg upon it.

Every partner in summer provides a large turf to cover his space of the boat, thereby defending it from the violence of the sun, which (in its meridian height) reflects most vehemently from the sea, and rock, upon which the boat lies; at the drawing it up, both sexes are employed in pulling a long rope at the fore end; they are determined in uniting their strength by the crier, who is therefore excepted from his share in the labour.

There is but one steel and tinder-box in all this

commonwealth; the owner whereof fails not upon every occasion to strike fire in the lesser isles, to go there, and exact three eggs, or one of the lesser fowls from each man as a reward for his service; this by them is called the fire-penny, and this capitation is very uneasy to them. I bid them try their crystal with their knives, which when they saw it produced fire, they were not a little astonished, and at the same time accusing their own ignorance, considering the quantity of crystal growing under the rock of their coast. This discovery has delivered them from the fire-penny tax, and they are now no longer liable to it.

They have likewise a pot-penny tax, which is exacted in the same manner as the fire-penny was, but is much more reasonable; for the pot is carried to the inferior isles for the public use, and is in hazard of being broken; so that the owners may justly exact upon this score, since any may venture his pot when he pleases.

When they have bestowed some hours in fowling about the rock, and caught a competent number, they sit down near the face of it to refresh themselves, and in the mean time they single out the fattest of their fowls, plucking them bare, which they carry home to their wives, or sweethearts, as a great present, and it is always accepted very kindly from them, and could not indeed well be otherwise, without great ingratitude, seeing these men ordinarily expose themselves to great danger, if not to the hazard of their lives, to procure those presents for them.

In the face of the rock, south from the town, is

the famous stone, known by the name of the Mistress-stone; it resembles a door exactly, and is in the very front of this rock, which is twenty or thirty fathom perpendicular in height, the figure of it being discernible about the distance of a mile: upon the lintel of this door, every bachelor-wooer is, by an ancient custom, obliged in honour to give a specimen of his affection for the love of his mistress, and it is thus: he is to stand on his left foot, having the one half of it over the rock, he then draws the right foot towards the left, and in this posture bowing, puts both his fists further out to the right foot; after he has performed this, he has acquired no small reputation, being ever after accounted worthy the finest woman in the world: they firmly believe this achievement is always attended with the desired success.

This being the custom of the place, one of the inhabitants very gravely desired me to let him know, the time limited by me for trying this piece of galantry before I designed to leave the place, that he might attend me: I told him the performance would have a quite contrary effect upon me, by robbing me both of my life and mistress at the same moment; but he was of a contrary opinion, and insisted on the good fortune attending it; but I must confess all his arguments were too weak to make me attempt the experiment.

They take their measures in going to the lesser islands from the appearance of the heavens; for when it is clear or cloudy in such a quarter, it is a prognostic of wind or fair weather; and when the waves are high on the east point of the bay, it is

an infallible sign of a storm, especially if they appear very white, even though the weather be at that time calm.

If the waves in the bay make a noise as they break before their beating upon the shore, it is an infallible forerunner of a W. wind; if a black cloud appears above the south side of the bay, a S. wind follows some hours afterwards. It is observed of the sea betwixt St. Kilda and the isles Lewis, Harries, &c. that it rages more with a N. wind, than when it blows from any other quarter. And it is likewise observed to be less raging with the S. wind than any other.

They know the time of the day by the motion of the sun from one hill or rock to another; upon either of these the sun is observed to appear at different times; and when the sun does not appear, they measure the day by the ebbing and flowing of the sea, which they can tell exactly, though they should not see the shore for some days together: their knowledge of the tides depends upon the changes of the moon, which they are likewise very exact in observing.

They use for their diversion short clubs and balls of wood; the sand is a fair field for this sport and exercise, in which they take great pleasure, and are very nimble at it; they play for eggs, fowl, hooks, or tobacco; and so eager are they for victory, that they strip themselves to their shirts to obtain it: they use swimming and diving, and are very expert in both.

The women have their assemblies in the middle of the village, where they discourse of their affairs,

in the mean time employing their distaff, and spinning in order to make their blankets; they sing and jest for diversion, and in their way understand poetry, and make verses. Both men and women are very courteous; as often as they passed by us every day, they saluted us with their ordinary compliment of, God save you; each of them making their respective courtesies.

Both sexes have a great inclination to novelty; and, perhaps, any thing may be thought new with them that is but different from their way of managing land, cattle, fowl, &c. A parcel of them were always attending the minister and me, admiring our habit, behaviour, &c. In a word, all we did or said was wonderful in their esteem; but above all, writing was most astonishing to them; they cannot conceive, how it is possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of his mind in such black characters upon white paper. After they had with admiration argued upon this subject, I told them, that within the compass of two years or less, if they pleased, they might easily be taught to read and write, but they were not of the opinion that either of them could be obtained, at least by them, in an age.

The officer, in his embassy in July last, travelled so far as to land on the continent next to Sky, and it was a long journey for a native of St. Kilda, for scarce any of the inhabitants have ever had the opportunity of travelling so far into the world.

They observed many wonderful things in the course of their travels; and think M'Leod's family is equivalent to that of an imperial court, and be-

lieve the king alone to be superior to him: they say his lady wore such a strange Lowland dress, that it was impossible for them to describe it; they admired glass windows hugely, and a looking-glass to them was a prodigy; they were amazed when they saw hangings covering a thick wall of stone and lime, and condemned it as vain and superfluous.

They reckon the year, quarter, and month, as in Great Britain. They compute the several periods of time by the lives of the proprietors and stewards, of whose greatest actions they have a tradition, of which they discourse with as great satisfaction, as any historian reflecting on the Cæsars, or greatest generals in the world.

They account riding one of the greatest of earthly grandeurs, and told me, with a strange admiration, that M'Leod travelled not on foot as they supposed all other men did, and that they had seen several horses which were kept on purpose for him to ride upon.

One of their number, landing in the isle of Harries, inquired who was the proprietor of those lands? they told him, that it was M'Leod; which did not a little raise his opinion of him. This man afterwards, when he was in the isle of Sky, and had travelled some miles there, one day standing upon an eminence, and looking round about, fancied he saw a great part of the world, and then asked to whom those lands belonged? and when one of the company had acquainted him, that M'Leod was master of those lands also, the St. Kilda man, lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out with

admiration, "O mighty Prince! who art master of such vast territories!" This he expressed so emphatically in the Irish language, that the saying from that time became a proverb, whenever any body would express a greatness and plenitude of power.

One of the things they admired most, was the growth of trees; they thought the beauty of the leaves and branches admirable, and how they grew to such a height above plants, was far beyond their conception: one of them, much astonished, told me that the trees pulled him back as he travelled through the woods: and they resolved once to carry some few of them on their backs to their boats, and take them to St. Kilda; but upon second thoughts the length of the journey, being through the greatest part of the isle of Sky, deterred them from this undertaking; for though they excel others in strength, they are yet but bad travellers on foot, being so much unused to it.

One of their number travelling in the isle of Sky, to the south part of it, thought this a prodigious journey; and seeing on the opposite continent the shire of Inverness, divided from Sky only by a narrow sea, inquired of the company, if that was the border of England.

One of the St. Kilda men, after he had taken a pretty large dose of aquavitæ, and was become very heavy with it, as he was falling into a sleep, and fancying it to be his last, expressed to his companions the great satisfaction he had in meeting with such an easy passage out of this world; for, said he, it is attended with no kind of pain. In

short, their opinion of foreign objects, is as remote from the ordinary sentiments of other men, as they are themselves from all foreign converse.

I must not omit acquainting the reader, that the account given of the sailors' rudeness to the inhabitants has created great prejudices in them against seamen in general; and though I endeavoured to bring them into some good opinion of them, it will not be improper to speak of the terms upon which the inhabitants are resolved to receive strangers. They will admit of no number exceeding ten, and they too must be unarmed, or the inhabitants will oppose them with all their might; but if any number, not exceeding the above, come peaceably, and with good designs, they may expect water and fire gratis, and what else the place affords, on the easiest terms in the world.

The inhabitants of St. Kilda are much happier than the generality of mankind, being almost the only people in the world who feel the sweetness of true liberty: what the condition of the people in the golden age is feigned by the poets to be, that theirs really is; I mean, in innocency and simplicity, purity, mutual love, and cordial friendship; free from solicitous cares, and anxious covetousness; from envy, deceit, and dissimulation; from ambition and pride, and the consequences that attend them. They are altogether ignorant of the vices of foreigners, and governed by the dictates of reason and Christianity, as it was first delivered to them by those heroic souls, whose zeal moved them to undergo danger and trouble to

plant religion here in one of the remotest corners of the world.

There is this only wanting to make them the happiest people in this habitable globe, viz. that they themselves do not know how happy they are, and how much they are above the avarice and slavery of the rest of mankind. Their way of living makes them contemn gold and silver, as below the dignity of human nature; they live by the munificence of Heaven, and have no designs upon one another, but such as are purely suggested by justice and benevolence.

There being about thirty of the inhabitants one day together in the isle Soa, they espied a man with a grey coat and plaid, in a shirt, floating on the sea upon his belly, and saw likewise a Mall pecking at his neck; this vision continued above a quarter of an hour, and then disappeared; but shortly after, one of the spectators chanced to fall into the sea, and being drowned, resembled the forewarning vision in all things, and the Mall was also seen upon his neck; this was told me by the steward some years before, and afterwards was confirmed to me by such as were themselves eye-witneses of it.

None of the inhabitants pretended to the second sight, except Roderick the Impostor, and one woman, and she told her neighbours, that she saw, some weeks before our coming, a boat (different from that of the steward's) with some strangers in it, drawing near to their isle.

AN

# ACCOUNT OF ONE RODERICK,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE HAD

## Conversation with a Familiar Spirit,

AND PRETENDING TO BE SENT

## BY ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST,

WITH NEW REVELATIONS AND DISCOVERIES.

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AFTER our landing, the minister and I, according to our first resolution, examined the inhabitants apart concerning the new pretended religion delivered to them by their false prophet.

All of them, young as well as old, both men and women, unanimously agreed in the following account: they heartily congratulated the minister's arrival, and at the same time declared their abhorrence of the imposter's delusions, and with repeated instances begged, for the Lord's sake, that he might be for ever removed out of the isle.

This imposter is a comely, well-proportioned fellow, red-haired, and exceeding all the inhabitants of St. Kilda in strength, climbing, &c. He is illiterate, and under the same circumstances with his companions; for he had not so much as the advantage of ever seeing any of the western isles; all his conversation being with the steward's retinue only, who were as ignorant of letters as himself.

In the eighteenth year of his age, he took the liberty of going to fish on a Sunday (a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda;) and he asserts, that in his return homeward, a man in Lowland dress, i. e. a cloak and hat, appeared to him upon the road; at this unexpected meeting, Roderick fell flat on the ground in great disorder; the man desired him not to be surprised at his presence, for that he was John the Baptist, immediately come from heaven with good tidings to the inhabitants of that place, who had been for a long time kept in ignorance and error; that he had commission to instruct Roderick in the laws of heaven for the edification of his neighbours: Roderick answered that he was not qualified for so great a charge; but the pretended Baptist desired him to be of good courage, for that he would instantly make him capable for his mission, and then delivered to him the following scheme, in which Roderick so mixed the laudable customs of the church with his own diabolical inventions, that it became impossible for so ignorant a people to distinguish the one from the other.

The first and principal command he imposed upon them, was that of the Friday's fast, which he enjoined with such strictness, as not to allow one of them to taste any kind of food before night, no, not so much as a snuff of tobacco, which they love extremely; this bare fast, without any religious exercise attending it, was the first badge and cognizance of his followers. He persuaded the people, that some of their deceased neighbours were nominated saints in heaven, and advocates for those who survived; he told them, every one had his

respective advocate, that the anniversary of every saint was to be commemorated by every person under whose tutelage he was reputed to be; and this is observed, by treating the neighbours with a plentiful entertainment of beef or mutton, fowls, &c. the impostor himself being ever the chief guest at the feast; from whence a share of the provision was punctually sent to his wife and children; the number of sheep ordinarily consumed on these occasions was proportionable to the ability of him that bestowed them.

He imposed likewise several penances which they were obliged to submit to, under pain of being expelled from the society of his congregation, which he pretended to be founded upon no less authority than that of St. John the Baptist, and threatened to inflict the severest judgments upon those who should prove refractory, and not obey his injunctions.

The ordinary penance he imposed upon them, was making them stand in cold water, without any regard to the season, during his pleasure; and if there were more of them upon whom this severity was to be inflicted, they were to pour cold water upon one another's heads till they had satisfied his tyrannical humour. This diabolical severity was evidence enough, that he was sent by him who is the "Father of lies, and was a murtherer from the beginning."

He commanded, that every family should slay a sheep upon the threshold of their doors, but a knife must not so much as touch it: he would have them only make use of their crooked spades for their in-

struments to kill them with; for which, if duly considered, there is nothing more improper, the edge with which he commanded the sheep's neck to be cut being almost half an inch thick. Now this was to be done in the evening, and if either young or old had tasted a bit of meat of it that night, the equivalent number of sheep were to be slain the following day, after the former manner.

He forbade the use of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments, and instead of them prescribed diabolical forms of his own. His prayers and rhapsodical forms were often blended with the names of God, our blessed Saviour, and the immaculate Virgin; he used the Irish word Phersichin, i. e. verses, which is not known in St. Kilda, nor in the north-west isles, except to such as can read the Irish tongue. But what seemed most remarkable, in his obscure prayers, was his mentioning ELI, with the character of our preserver. He used several unintelligible words in his devotions, of which he could not tell the meaning himself; saying only, that he had received them implicitly from St. John the Baptist, and delivered them before his hearers without any explication.

He taught the women a devout hymn, which he called the Virgin Mary's, as sent from her; this hymn was never delivered in public, but always in a private house, or some remote place where no eye could see them but that of heaven; he persuaded the innocent women that it was of such merit and efficacy, that any one who was able to repeat it by heart, would not die in child-bearing:

and every woman paid a sheep to the impostor for teaching her the hymn.

The place and manner of teaching this hymn afforded him a fair opportunity of debauching many of the simple women; and this some of their number acknowledged to the minister and me upon examination.

He prescribed to all his auditory, long rhymes, which he called Psalms; these he ordinarily sung at his rhapsodical preachments.

He endeavoured to alter the common way of burying, viz. in placing the faces of the dead to the east, and would have persuaded them to place them to the south, and that he might prevail the more with them so to do, he set the bodies of those of his own family who happened to die, in that position; but the inhabitants would never follow his example in this, but continued their former practice.

He persuaded the women, that if in all things they complied with his new revelation, they should be undoubtedly carried to heaven, and that in their journey thither they were to pass through the firmament riding upon white horses. These and many more such whims he imposed upon the people, of which this is a short abstract.

This unhappy fellow, to consecrate his enterprise, pitched upon a little rising spot of ground, which he called John the Baptist's Bush; upon which he said these oracles were delivered to him. This bush was from that time forward believed to be holy ground, and must not be trod upon by any of their cattle; if by chance one of them happen

to touch it, it was forthwith to be slain and eaten by Roderick and the owners; and if any proved refractory, and were resolved to spare their cattle, a most dreadful commination was issued out against them, of being thenceforward excluded from any further fellowship with him, until they should acknowledge their faults, and comply with his luxurious desires, which to disobey he made them believe was damnable. It was reckoned meritorious for any body to reveal those who had transgressed the orders given by him.

This impostor continued for several years, without control, to delude these innocent well meaning people, until at last his villanous design upon the women was found out, which he intended to accomplish under the mask of the devout hymn he taught them, and was first discovered by the officer's wife, who the impostor first made a proselyte of to his false doctrines, and after that would have debauched her from her conjugal fidelity. This woman was so heroically virtuous as to communicate his lewd design to her husband, who ordered the matter so as to be in a room hard by at the time he supposed Roderick would be coming, where he continued till this letcher began to caress his wife, and then he thought himself obliged seasonably to appear to her rescue, and boldly reproved the impostor for his wicked practices, which were so widely contrary to his profession, and that upon the whole it appeared he had no true mission.

The impostor was very much surprised at this unexpected and fatal disappointment, which put him into an extreme disorder, insomuch that he asked

the officer's pardon, acknowledged his crime, and promised never to attempt the like again. The officer continued to upbraid him, telling him, he was instigated by the devil; that innocence and chastity were always the effects of true religion, and that the contrary practices were countenanced only by false Prophets; and that now no other proof was wanting of his being a notorious deceiver. However the impostor's great reputation prevailed with the officer to patch up a friendship, for [the continuance of which he condescended to be Roderick's sponsor at the baptism of one of his children; of which ceremony an account has been given. When there is no opportunity of being sponsor to each other, and it is thought necessary to enter into bonds of friendship at baptism, the inhabitants of the western isles supply this ceremony by tasting a drop of each other's blood.

Notwithstanding the friendship thus patched up between the officer and Roderick, the latter's miscarriages got air, which administered occasion to the most thinking among them, to doubt much of his mission; his father, who was reputed a very honest man, told him frequently that he was a deceiver, and would come to a fatal end. For this impostor once prophesied that one of the inhabitants (whose name I have heard) should be killed in a battle, to be fought in the isle of Harries, within a limited space of time; the unthinking man relying on this infallible oracle, ventured more desperately on the rock than usual, fancying he could not fall, but it so happened that he tumbled over and was drowned, at which the inhabitants were a good deal

alarmed; but the impostor still continued in the exercise of his pretended mission.

One of the inhabitants called Muldonich, alias Lewis, cousin-german to this man, had a ewe which brought forth three lambs at one time, which were seen feeding upon the sacred bush, but Lewis refused to comply with the order for killing the sheep, and had the boldness to aver, that it was an unreasonable piece of worship to destroy so many cattle, and deprive the owners of their property, adding withal, that he never heard any such thing practised in any of the western isles upon a religious account. The impostor insisted that the heavenly command was to be observed by all his followers, adding the dreadful threatning against such as proved disobedient; but Lewis nevertheless remained obstinate, chusing to be excluded from such worship, rather than kill his sheep.

The silly people expected no less than a speedy judgment to befall this recusant, but when nothing ensued upon his disobedience, they all began to have a less veneration for the impostor than before; and began to think within themselves, that they might as well have ventured to run the same risque with Lewis for the preservation of their cattle.

Notwithstanding this notorious villainy, the impostor continued to maintain his authority, till one night (for it was always at night, that he kept his religious meetings) by a special providence, a boy of the isle of Harries, (who had staid with his father a year in St. Kilda, and was employed in mending their boat,) happened to go into the house where Roderick was preaching; the boy lurked in the

dark, and gave his father an account of what he had heard, at least so far as he could remember; which the boy's father communicated to the steward upon his arrival, who being highly concerned at the relation given him, carried Roderick along with him to the isle of Sky before the late Macleod, who forbid him from that time forward to preach any more, on pain of death.

This was a sensible mortification, as well as disappointment to the impostor, who had flattered himself that Macleod would hear him preach, and expected no less than to persuade him to become a proselyte as he has since confessed.

This fellow asserts, that every night after he had assembled the people, he heard a voice without, saying, 'Come you out;' which when he heard, he had no power to stay within; and that after his going forth, John the Baptist always met him, and instructed him what he should say to the people at that particular meeting. He says, that St. John used to repeat the discourse to him only once, which he owns he could scarcely remember one sentence of, and therefore he enquired of the saint how to behave himself in this case; that the answer was, 'Go, you have it;' which the impostor believing, was upon his return able to deliver fluently all he had heard, and would continue, after his own way, for several hours together, to preach until he had lulled most of his hearers to sleep.

When the earthquake before mentioned was over, one of the inhabitants enquired of him with admiration, how the rock was made to tremble? He answered, that it was the effect of pleasant music

played by a devout saint in a church under ground: His neighbour owned his love for music, but heartily wished never to hear any more of this kind, which carried so great terror along with it.

The impostor owned the truth of all this account, first to the minister and me, and then publickly after divine service, in the presence of all the inhabitants, and such as were come to that place from the isle of Harries. The minister and congregation jointly prayed for repentance and pardon to this poor wretch, which when ended, we carried him and all the inhabitants to the bush pretended to be sacred; he himself, leading the van, was commanded to demolish that wall which he had ordered to be built round the said bush (which otherwise would in a short time have proved a purgatory, to have robbed them of all their goods) which he and the inhabitants did in the space of an hour; we made them scatter the stones up and down in the field, lest their posterity might see such a monument of folly and ignorance. We reproved the credulous people for complying implicitly with such follies and delusions as were delivered to them by the impostor; and all of them with one voice answered, that what they did was unaccountable; but seeing one of their own number and stamp in all respects, endued, as they fancied, with a powerful faculty of preaching so fluently and frequently, and pretending to converse with John the Baptist, they were induced to believe his mission from heaven, and therefore complied with his commands without dispute, and the rather, as he did not attempt to change their laws of neighbourhood.

They now regret their wandering, and hope that God may pardon their error, as what they did was with a design (though a mistaken one) to serve him.

They are now overjoyed to find themselves undeceived, and the light of the gospel restored to them, as it was at first delivered to their ancestors by the first Christian monks, who had gone thither to instruct them.

This impostor is a poet, and also endued with that rare faculty of enjoying the second sight, which makes it the more probable that he was haunted by a familiar spirit. It hath been observed of him, before his imposture was discovered, that so often as he was employed by the steward to go to, or return from Harries, they were always exposed to the greatest dangers by violent storms, being at one time driven fifty leagues to the N. E. and by special providence were at last cast upon the little isle Rona, twenty leagues N. E. of Lewis; the steward's wife, and all his crew reflecting upon these dangers since the discovery of his imposture, could never be prevailed upon to receive him again into their boat. They often intreated Mr. Campbell and me not to admit him into our boat, but we did not yield to these fears, for we received and brought him along with us, and afterwards delivered him to the steward's servants in the isle of Pabby in Harries, where he remains still in custody in order to his trial.



FINIS.

AN

# ACCOUNT

OF

# HIRTA AND RONA,

GIVEN TO

## SIR ROBERT SIBBALD,

BY

THE LORD REGISTER

SIR GEORGE M'KENZIE,

OF TARBAT.

SG

HIRTA. The island of Hirta, of all the isles about Scotland, lyeth furthest out into the sea, is very mountainous, and not accessible but by climbing. It is incredible, what number of fowls frequent the rocks there, so far one can see, the sea is covered with them, and when they rise they darken the sky, they are so numerous. They are ordinarily catched this way: a man lies upon his back with a long pole in his hand, and knocketh them down, as they fly over him. There be many sorts of these fowls; some of them of strange shapes, among which there is one they call the Gare fowl, which is bigger than any goose, and hath eggs as big almost as those of the Ostrich. Among the other commodities they export out of the island, this is none of the meanest. They take the fat of these fowls that frequent the

island, and stuff the stomach of this fowl with it, which they preserve by hanging it near the chimney, where it is dryed with the smoke, and they sell it to their neighbours on the continent, as a remedy they use for aches and pains.

Their sheep upon that island of Hirta are far different from all others, having long legs, long horns, and, instead of wool, a blewish hair upon them, for the figure and description it seems to approach in resemblance to the *Ovis Chilensis:* Some natural historians make mention of the milk of those sheep, they make butter and a sort of cheese, which my Lord Register saith, pleaseth his taste better than Holland cheese. They have no salt there, but what they make by burning of sea-tangle, which is very black. Their greatest trade is in feathers they sell: And the exercise they affect most, is climbing of steep rocks; he is the prettiest man who ventures upon the most inaccessible, though all they gain is the eggs of the fowls, and the honour to dye, as many of their ancestors, by breaking of their necks; which Pliny observes of these people which he calls *Hyperborei.*

Rona. The island of Rona hath for many generations been inhabited by five families, which seldom exceed thirty souls in all: they have a kind of commonwealth among them, in so far if any of them have more children than another, he that hath fewer taketh from the other what makes his number equal, and the excrescence of above thirty souls is sent with the summer boat to the Lewes to the Earl of Seafort their master, to whom they pay yearly some quantity of meal stitched up in sheeps

skins, and feathers of sea fowls; they have no feuel for fire upon the island, but by the special providence of God, the sea yearly casts in so much timber as serves them. Their sheep there have wool, but of a blewish colour.

There is a chappel in the midst of the isle, where they meet twice or thrice a day. One of the families is hereditary Beddall, and the master of that stands at the altar and prayeth, the rest kneel upon their knees and join with him. Their religion is the Romish religion. There is always one who is chief, and commands the rest, and they are so well satisfied with their condition, that they exceedingly bewail the condition of those, as supernumerary, they must send out of this island.

THE

# SUBJOINED NOTICES

RESPECTING THE

# Ancient Royal Library of Scotland,

ARE OFFERED TO THOSE

*Whom such topics are calculated to please.*

*No. I. appears to be a list of the king's books, made in the reign of James VI. No. II. may be called an Invoice of Books, with their prices, but the name of the bookseller or person who furnished them is unknown. It is followed by an order from the Earl of Murray, then regent, to the king's treasurer, directing payment; the sums are stated in Scottish money. No. III. is a precept by James VI., ordering his treasurer to pay a bookbinder's account. It is also subscribed by two of his clergy. No. IV. is a copy of John Gibsoun's account for binding the volumes specified in the preceding note. No. V. John Gibsoun's receipt for payment.*

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Thesaurar and your deputtis ye sall ansuer thir buikis to the kingis majestie, And the prices thairof

sall be thankfullie allowit to yow in your comptis kepand thir presents for your warrand. Subscrivit with our hand at Dalkeith the xxv. day of Julij 1576. JAMES, REGENT.

## No. III. MDLXXX. REX.

Thesaurar we greit yow weill It is our will and we charge you That ye Incontinent after the sycht heirof ansuer our lovit Johne gibsoun buik bindar of the sowme of sevintene pundis iiij s iiij d within mentionat To be thankfullie allowit to you in your comptis keping this our precept for your warrand. Subscryvit with our hand At Halyrudhous the first day of October 1580. JAMES R.

R. DUNFERMLING,
J. CAMBUSKYNETH.

## No. IV.

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Cassiodorus de divinis lectionibus 8° iiij s.
Lustie Juventus, xij d.
Sowme of this compt is xvij lib. iiij s. iiij d.

## No. V.

I Johne gibsoun be the tennour heirof grantis me to haue ressauit fra Robert colville of cleische in name of my lord thesaurare the sowme of sevintene pundis iiij s iiij d conforme to this compt and precept within writtin off the qlk sowme I hald me weill content and pait and dischargis him thairof for euir be thir presents Subscryuit with my hand At Ed$^{r}$ the XV day of nouember 1580.

Johne gybsone w$^{t}$ my hand.

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*** *This Curious Literary Relict, first appeared in Chapman's Picture of Glasgow; Third Edition,* 1818.

# CHAMÆLEON,

WRITTEN BY

*Mr. George Buchanan,*

AGAINST

## The Laird of Lidingtone.

FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN THE COTTON LIBRARY.

5 C

THAIR is a certane kynd of beist callit Chamæleon, engenderit in sic countreis as the sone hes mair strenth in than in this yle of Brettane, the quhilk albeit it be small of corporance, noght-theless it is of ane strange nature, the quhilk makis it to be na less celebrat and spoken of than sum beastis of greittar quantitie. The proprieties is marvalous, for quhat thing evir it be applicat to, it semis to be of the samyn cullour, and imitatis all hewis, excepte onelie the quhyte and reid; and for this caus anciene writtaris commonlie comparis

it to ane flatterare, quhilk imitatis all the haill maneris of quhome he fenzeis him self to be freind to, except quhyte, quhilk is taken to be the symboll and tokin gevin commonlie in devise of colouris to signifie sempilnes and loyaltie, and reid signifying manliness and heroyicall courage. This applicatioun being so usit, zit peradventure mony that hes nowther sene the said beist, nor na perfyte portraict of it, wald beleif sick thing not to be trew, I will thairfore set furth schortlie the descriptioun of sic an monsture not lang ago engendrit in Scotland in the Cuntre of Louwthiane not far frome Hadingtoun, to that effect that the forme knawin, the moist pestiferus nature of the said monsture may be moir easelie evitit: For this monsture being under coverture of a manis figure, may easeliar endommage, and wers be eschapit than gif it wer moir deforme and strange of face, behaviour, schap and membris. Praying the reidar to apardoun the febilnes of my waike spreit an engyne, gif it can not expreme perfytelie ane strange creature, maid by nature, other willing to schaw hir greit strenth, or be sum accident turnit be force frome the common trade and course. This monsture being engenderit under the figure of a man chyld, first had ane proprietie of nature, flattering all manis ee and sensis that beheld it, so that the common peiple wes in gude hoip of greit vertuus to prosper with the time in it; other ferdar seing of greit harmes and dampnage to cum to all that sould be familiarlie acquentit with it. This monsture promovit to sic maturitie of Aige, as it could easelie flatter and imitat every manis countenance, speche and fa-

shions, and subtill to draw out the secreittis of every manis mynd, and depravat the counsellis to his awin proper gayne, enterit in the court of Scotland the , and having espyit out not onelie factiouns bot singular personis, addressit the self in the begyning to Iames efter Erll of Murray, and Gilbert than Erll of Cassillis, men excellent in the tyme, in all vertuus perteining to ane nobill man, and speciall in lufe of the common welth of thair cuntre: And seing that his nature could not bow to imitat in veritie, but onelie to contrafat fenzeitlie the gudnes of thir two personis, nor zit change thame to his nature, thocht expedient to leane to thame for a tyme, and clym up be thair branches to hiear degre, as the wod bind clymeth on the oik, and syne with tyme distroyis the tre that it wes supported be. So he having cum to sum estimatioun throw hanting of thir nobill lordis (quha wer than estemit of every man as thair vertuus meritit) wes sone be gud report of thame, and ane fenzeit gudnes in him self put in creditt with the Quene Regent, verelie an nobill lady and of greit prudence, bot zit could not espy the gilt vyces under cullour of vertew hid in the said monster, speciallie being clockit be favour of the two forsaid lordis, in quhais company hir grace wald nevir have belevit that sic ane pestilent verm could have bene hyd. The first experience the said Quene had of him wes in sending him to France for certane bissines occurrent for the tyme, quhair he did his commissioun sa weill to his awin intention, and sa far frome the Quenis mynd, that he dissavit the Cardinall of Lorayne; quha untill that day thocht

him self not only auld practicien, bot als maister, zea doctour subtilis, in sic matters of negociatioun. His fals-dealing being sone persavit, and he greitlie hatit, zit sche being ane lady of greit prudence could not defend hir self fromе subtilltie, bot within schort tyme be meanis of sic as belevit him to be thair freind, he crap in credence againe be ane other dur, and under ane other cullour: Bot zit could not sa weill as he wald invent new falshead, becaus of the auld suspitioun, and being of auld suspectit, sone persavit, and in dangerie to be taken reid hand and puneist efter his meritis, he fled out of Leyth, and coverit himself with the cloik of religion sa lang as it could serve, bot nevir sa closse bot he keepit ane refuge to sum sanctuarie of the Papistis gif the court had changeit. As to the bischoppis of Santandrois and Glasgow, and utheris diyerse, quhais causis wer in his protectioun, and thairfore the haly Docteur Cranstoun deptit to him largelie of the spoyle of Sanct Salvatoris College, and wes mantenit be Chamæleon aganis all law and ressoun; beside that he wes ane man contaminat in all kynd of vycis. How far afoir the cumming hame of the Quene the Kingis moder, he wes contrary to all hir actiouns, and favourabill to hir adversaries, and inclynit to hir deprivatioun, it is notourlie knawin bayth in Ingland and Scotland, be sic as mellit than with the affairis of the estait in bayth the realms. Efter the Quenis cumming hame he enterit schortlie be changeing of cullouris, and turning out the other syde of his cloik, and halding him be the branches of the Erll of Murray, and for ane tyme applying him to the Quenis G

heir, that he allone wes hard in all secreit matteris, casting of lytill and lytill the Earl of Murray, and thinking that he wes strang anewch to stand by himself, on leaning to the Erll of Murray. And becaus the Erll of Murray plesit not mony interprysis of marriage than attemptit, as with the Princes of Spayne, with the Duke of Anjou, wit the Empriaris brother, the said Chamæleon applyit himself to all thir partiis, and changeing hew as ye Quene sweyit the ballance of hir mynd, and followit the appetyte of hir lust. And at lang the Quene be avyis of hir oncles devysit to destroy the Erll of Murray, thinking him to be ane greit brydill to refrane hir appetitis, and impediment to leif at libertie of her plessoure; not that evir he usit ony violence anentis hir, bot that his honestie wes sa greit that sche wes eschamit to attempt ony thing indecent in his presence. Sche than being deliberat to distroy him be the Erll of Huntlie, went to the North, and he in hir company; and howbeit the tressoun wes opynnit planelie, and Johnne Gordoun lying not far of the town (Aberdeen) with an greit powar, and the Erll of Murray expresslie ludgeit in an hous separate frae all uther habitatioun, and his deid be diverse wayis socht; this Chamæleon, quhether of sempilnes, or for layk of foirsicht, or for bauldnes of courage, I refer to every manis conscience that doith knaw him, he alone could se no tressoun, could feare no dangear, and wald nevir beleif that the Erll of Huntlie wald take on hand sic ane interpryis; howbeit thair wes gevin advertisement of it out of Ingland and France, letteres taken declarand it, and the mater manifest before all menis ene. It wer to lang to

reherse, and not verie necessar for the present, it being knawin to sa mony, quhat divers purposis wer tane, quhat dangearis eschapit all the tyme of that voyage, untill the Quene come to Abirdene again, and how miraculous wes the victorie: Bot ane thing is not to be pretermittit, that the said Chamæleon wes ane of the reddiest to gnaw the bainis of the deid, to spoyle the qwyck, and mak his proffeit at that marcat. Efter this the oursay trafficque of mariage growing cald, the said Chamæleon going in Ingland, delt sa betuix the Protestantis and Papistes, that he changeit dalie colouris, sumtyme flattering the ane, sumtyme the other, and making every ane of thame beleif that he labourit onelie for thame, and amangis other thingis be an prevy intelligence with the Quene and verre few of the nobilitie, practizit the marriage of the Quene and Henry Lord Dernlie, of the quhilk he mad nevir the Erll of Murray prevy, untill all wes endit. Howbeit the Erll of Murray did nevir thinge, nor tuke nevir propose without his advise and counsale. Heir the mater quhilk he had raschelie brocht on, wes neir the point, seing that the Quene of Ingland dissagreit with it for certane respectis, and the Lordis of Scotland for the cause of the religioun, to the manteinance of the quhilk thay desyrit ane promeis of the Quene and the said Lord Dernlie, the Chamæleon in secreit flatterit the Quene, and openlie tuke the colour of religioun: And at the lang (seing my Lord of Murray for being precise and plane in all doingis cast out of court) cled himself onelie in the Quenis colouris, untill that Davïd prevalit agains him, and had in a manner the haill credeit of all

wechtie materis. At this poynt thinking himself in werse caise than he beleivit, socht to make an other change of court, and set up new play againe, awaytit on the court sumpart disgracit, louking for sum new cullour to apply him self to. In this mene tyme the Quene seking to move sum thing in the religioun, maid ane querell agains certane Lordis of the Principallis of Scotland, the quhilkis, albeit that ane ressonabill power faillit thame not, and that the favour of the cuntre wes for thame, zit to schaw thair innocency, quhen thai could not breke the Quenis obstinat mynd of thair distructioun be prayer and sollicitacioun of freindis, thay left the cuntre and went in Ingland, zit Chamæleon held the small grip that he had in court secunding to David. In this mene tyme the parliament set to forfalt sek Lordis as had fled in Ingland, except the Duke, quha did be intercessioun of silver by his remissioun fra David. The rest of the Lordis quhilk were of wisdome or estimatioun, partlie requirit be the king, quha wes in na credit in respect of David, partlie for thair awin libertie, conspyrit the deid of the said David, and executit the same. Chamæleon cheifest enemy to David, eftir the Kingis grace, zit not being advertisit be the Lordis of thair enterprise, and suspectit of the Quene, knawing his dowbilness, quhyther for verie feare, or preparing ane entre to the Quenis favour, fled as uthers did, and efter lang fetchis brocht agane to the court, kest clene frae him all colouris of the Kingis, and cled him agane in the Quenis colouris, and wes ane of the principal instrumentis that incressit dissensioun betwix hir and the King: The quhilk practize, howbeit he wald have dissi-

mulatit, sum tyme brake out with him; as to ane nobill woman, praying God to gif the King and the Quene grace to agrie, he answerit, God let thame nevir agre: For thay leving in dissensioun, he thocht that his dowbilnes could not be espyit out. And than seing the Earl Bothuile cum in credeit, he flatterit him; and evin as thay agreit in all pointis to put down the King, seing that he prospering thay could have na lyff, sa eftir the Kings deid, the Erll Bothuile, having in that practize knawin his falset, and fearing his inconstancy, and desyring to be deliverit of sic an witnes, socht his deid: And he having na refuge to the Quene for the samyn cause, tuke for a tyme the Erll of Mortonis collouris, an being borne furth be him agains the Erll of Bothuiles power and hatrent, sa lang as he wes in feare lurkit under the Erll of Mortonis wingis, and the feir past schew himself the said Earls enemie: And having no sufficient cause, nor appearand indice of separatioun of company and kyndnes, he fenzeit that the said Erll of Morton had conspyrit his deid, to be execute by some of the Erllis friendis; and to prove the said conspiracy, alledgit an famous witnes *(majorem omni exceptione)* the nobill and vertuus Lady Gyltoun. Now to returne agane to our propose, eftir the deid of the King devysit be him, executit be the Erll Bothuile, for feir of the said Erll he lurkit a quhile out of court, untill the tyme the Quene at Carberrie-Hill come to the Lordis, and the Erll Bothuile fled to Dunbar. Than he come to parliament, and with sume otheris participant of the Kingis slaughter, wald have had the Quene slane be Act of Parliament; and not finding mony con-

senting thareto, and speciallie the Erll of Murray, than chosen Regent, being in the contrair, he solli-citat some previe men to gar hang hir on hir bed with hir awin belt, that be that way he and his partinaris in the Kingis murthoure mycht be deliverit of an witnesse; knawing weill the Quenis nature, that quhen she wes misscontent of ony man, sche wald tell all sic secreittis as sche did knaw of him. This propose not proceeding as he desyrit, he turnit him first in flattering with the Quene, and send to hir being in Lochlevin ane picture of the deliverance of the lyoun by the mouse, and nixt turnit his haill wit to the distruction of the Erll of Murray, thinking that the wickit could not proffeit greitly, so just a man having the supreme power; and als seing that the Quenis craftiness wes abill at the lang to overthraw the Erll of Murrays sempilnes. So he bendit all his wittis to the said Erllis eversioun, and the Quenis restitution, and procedit in this cause, partlie be making an factioun of the counsalleris, and partakeris of the Kingis murthoure, of men lycht of fantasie and covatous of geir; partlie be correpting of my Lord of Murrayis freindis and servandis, and travellit principallie with the Laird of Grange, thinking that it sould be an greit strenth to the factioun, to have the castell of Edimburgh at thair command. The Regent being divers tymes advertiset of thir practizis, wes of so upright nature, that he wald beleif na thing of ony that he had takin in freindschip, quhilk he wald not have done himself, and als, mony of the factioun in the begyning thocht it had bene bot ane ligue defen-sive againis the power of the great, that is accus-timat to overthraw the small in tyme of troubill.

In this mene tyme come the deliverance of the Quene out of Lochlevin, the quhilk he wes not ignorant of, and specially be the meanis of his cousing Johne Hamiltoun of the Cochnoch (al. Coheug) zit he tareit with the Regent to keip ane cullour of honestie, and that with the Quenis consent, quha had given him divers otheris that were in my Lord of Murrayis company fre remissioun for all by past.

Bot the battel chansing utherwaies than he desyrit and belevit, zit he persistit in his propose to destroy the Regent, not opinlie, bot be secreit meanis. As being sent divers tymes to commune with the Lord Flemyng, evir did the contrair of the propose that he wes send for, and evir tendit to hald the cuntre in unquietnes; and in all assembleis for appointment, tendit to have all by past remittit, to keip ay thevis and revaris in courage, and to abase the hartis of trew subjectis, that sould haif na hoip of redresse of wrangis done to thame be the Kingis rebellis. Efter that be the dilligence and wisdome of the Regent the cuntre wes brocht to sum stay, and justice lyke to haif the over hand, the Kingis rebellis purchassit at the Quene of Inglandis handis, that sche sould consider the greit wrangis (as thai said) done to hir nixt nychtbour, and being nixt of blude to hir, and other be hir requeist or puissance caus hir be restorit agane to her formar authoritie. The Quenis Majestie of Ingland having zit no less regaird to justice nor to consanguinitie, desyrit some of the principallis of the nobilitie to repair to hir or hir deputties for thir requeistis and complayntis, and my Lord deliberat to go in persoun wes in doubt, having ellis enterit in sum suspicionis of this Chamæleon, quhethir he

sould tak him with him self, or leif him behind: For taking him he doubtit not bot he wald hinder the actioun in all manner possibill, and leaving him behind, that following his natural complexioun he wald trubill the cuntre, in sick maner that it sould not be easilie in lang tyme brocht to rest agane. At lang having deliberat to take him with him, and perswadit him bayth be giftis of landis and money, he fand to be trew in deid all that he suspectit afore; for everie nycht in a manner he communicat all that wes amangis us with sum of our adversaris, and armit thame sa far as he could agains the said Regent. Bot the force of the ressonis, and cleirness of tha haill deductioun of the caus that my Lord regent usit, wes sa perswasive to the auditouris, that be Chamæleons advertisement, the Kingis mother disschargeit hir commissiouners to proceed forther, and differrit to ane mair commodious tyme for hir: For it wes weill knawin to hir, that the Quenis Majestie of Ingland and hir counsall had allowit the said Regentis proceedingis, and the ambassadour of Spayne seing the horribill cryme sa abhominabill to all honest men, refused to speik ane word in the mater, and the Frensche ambassadour excusit himself that he spake be command of [his] maister.

In this mene tyme the said Chamæleonis secreit practize with the Duke of Norffolk, suspectit afore begouth to brek out be sum letters of maister Johne Lessleis callit Bischope of Ross, and als be the Duke himself, put in hoip of mariage of the Scottis Quene be thame, the quhilk practize wes handillit: Sumpart putting feir to the regent, that he could not returne in Scotland with his lyff without the Dukis favour, be reassoun of greit preparationis that

wes maid aganis the Regent on baith the bordoris of Scotland and Ingland: Partlie be tempting of the said Regentis mynd, quha answerit to the Duke of Norffolk, That he wald be glad that the Quene recognoscing hir falt, and repenting, sould marry ony gude Christian man of nobill house. The rumour of this dealing wes sa openelie spoken in the court of Ingland, that the Quenis Majestie wes constraynit to wryte to hir lieutenentis to mak the Regent be put sauf in Scotland, and so he wes without any recounter, bot of the Erll of Westmureland not far frome Durame, quho seing the Regentis company, and ryding throw thame, thocht not best to matche with thame. The nixt assemble wes at Glasgow, quhair the Hamiltonis bragging, bot could not be party, be meanis of him and otheris thair favoureris with the Regent, wer ressavit to sic an appointment as wes greitlie to thair advantage, and the said Regentis dissadvantage. And quhen thai sould haif gevin pledgis to performe the said appointment, as wes compromittit, thay did bot seke delay; and so the principallis of thame [wer] committit to ward in the castell of Edinburg. The haill mater wes secreitlie handillit be the Chamæleon. The quhilk handilling apperit more planelie at an conventioun at Sanctandrois; quhair thair wes twa headis principallie disputit, First, gif the Erll of Huntlie sould haif general remissioun for all reif and oppressioun done be him and his friendis in all tymes bypast; Or, gif the Kingis actioun pardonit, prevat men sould have actioun to crave thair awin geir. Nixt, gif the Erll of Huntlies haill assisstaris sould be comprehendit in ane remissioun with him. The quhilk twa headis the Chamæleon and his complices pressit erniștly

be al meanis to be ressavit, as said is, and that not without boisting of Franche men and Spanzaris, and mony uther inconvenientis; and all this done to disscourage the Kingis trew liegis, and lychtning the hartis of rebellis in hoip of impunitie of all wrongis that thai sould do in tyme to cume, and to hald the haill cuntre in rebellioun and inquietnes, to consume at the lang the Regent, quilk thai knew to be puir of substance and liberall of courage. And zit wer not thir thingis mair subtilly devysed, nor thai wer constantlie resistit be the Regent and his trew counsall. And seing that thai could not come to thair propose this way, thay causit new articles to be devisit in Ingland towching the Quenis cuming hame: To the quhilk albeit thair wes sufficient answer mad in London, zit for the samyne caus wes devysit ane assemble of Lordis in Sanct Johnestoun, with ane additioun of ane commissioun of divorcement of the Erll of Bothuile and the Quene, and to the effect of the haill, mony writingis [wer] purchassit of boith wise men and greit men of Ingland, schawing planelie that it wes ane foly to Scotland to presse to resist the marriage betwix the Quene and Duke of Norffolk; for it wes devysit be sic wisdom, and to be executit with sic force, as Scotland wes not abill to resist; and not without consent of the Quenis Majestie of Ingeland. Heir, albeit Chamæleon and all his quhelpis ragit nevir sa fast, the contrair wes concludit, and schawen to the Quenis Grace of Ingland be Alexander Hume gentleman of my Lord Regentis hous. And becaus the Quenis Majestie wes not fully satisfeit at that tyme, ane uther convocatioun wes hald at Stirling, to the quhilk Cha-

mœleon, assurit of my Lord Regentis clemencie, and proude in his awin consait, bot feiring for his demeritis, efter sum dubitatioun come to Stirling; and wes in doubt not without caus. For, about this tyme, my Lord Regent, advertisit that the Hamiltonis had decreitit to murthoure him, he schew bayth the taill and the authour to the Chamæleon, of the quhilk the Chamæleon reprovit vehemently the Hamiltonis that could not keip thair counsall mair secreit; and this advertising being schawin be sum of the Hamiltonis to my Lord Regent, zit he sufferit pacientlie. At Stirling the articles being declarit at greiter length, the Chamæleon wes attecheit be justice, and chargit of the Kingis murthoure, the quhilk greivit him havelie, and presit at my Lord Regentis hand the cryme to be changeit, and he to be accusit of the troubles lyke to ryis in Ingland and Scotland throuch the forspoken mariage, for he thocht that mater to be consavit and devysit sa substantiallie, that nouther force nor wit could maik impediment to the performance of it, and belevit suirlie that sic ane cryme sould redound to his greit prayse and opinioun of wisdom. This not obteinit, he obteinit agains all the said Regentis friendis will, to be send to ward in the castell of Edinburghe; quhair he wrocht aganis the nature of the Chamæleon, for he changeit the greitar part of thame of the castell to his collour sa weill, that the conspiracy of the Regentis deid lang afoir consavit, wes than brocht to effect. Eftir the quhilk he wrocht be sic meanis, that he perswadit the haill Lordis than present in Edinburgh to be enlargit of his ward, under promeis to compeir and answer to the cryme of the Kingis

murthoure layd to his charge, at sic day as he sould be callit, and under hoip to be an gude instrument of concord amangis the Lordis; and ane day prolongit to sick of the Hamiltonis as wald purge thame sellfis of the murthoure of the Regent unto the first day of Maii, Bot sone being adjoinit with uthers of his factioun, he changeit that collour, and perswadit utheris complices of the murthoure for feir, and sum sempill persones be ane fals collour of proffeit, to convene to an schorter day, viz. the tent day of Apryle, assuring thame that the castell (as it wes) being thairs, and the town als, (for the Capitane of the castell wes Proveist) that this rumour sould caus mony to convene to thame, and thair adversaris dissgracit sould half na place to convene togidder; and that the Quene of Ingland troublit alreddy with civile warre at hame, mycht the mair eselie condiscend to that side, wrait to hir letteres partlie flattering, partlie threatning, and to schaw hir thair greit power, send ane roll of the Lordis of thair syde, quhairin wes comprehendit sum Lordis neutrallis, and mony of the adversaries, beleving that leyis maid in Scotland could not be tryit in Londoun. And seing that the town of Edinburgh could not be perswadit to rebell with thame, and that the cuntre convenit not as thai hoipit, and the breking of the bordouris succedit not to thair proffeit, the most part flittit camp, and went to Lynlythquow, and thair set furth thair proclamatioun dytit be Chamæleon (as wes afore the Erll of Westmuirlandis second proclamatioun) and thairby set up the Quenis authoritie quhairof he (tarreing in the castell of Edinburgh) kepit himself clene as Pilat wesching his handis of

the deid of Chryst. And sens that tyme, as afore, this gud subjecte and servand to the Kingis grace confortit with counsale, and conveyit out of the cuntre the rebellis of Ingland, the samyne being enemies to the King of Scotland, and prattit proudlie, vanting that his pen sould be worth ten thousand men, and threitnit schamefullie (gif he had reservit any schame) the Quenis Majestie of Ingland with wordis of quhilk the memory sould be raither abolishit be punitioun of him, than rehersit for thair impudencie; and feirit not to maik sa opin a leye to nobillmen of Ingland, as that the Kingis trew subjectis acknawledging his authoritie wer notable to assembill togidder fyve hundred horse, quhair thai saw within few dayes moir than fyve thousand assemblit out of ane cornar of Scotland: And ay sensyne he hes bene at all convocatiouns of the Kingis professit enemies in Scotland, in Dunkeld, in Athol, in Strabogie, in Braidalbine, and ellis quhair, and kepis contrebank to Mr. Johne Lesslie of Kingusce, in all directionis to put the King out of his estait, his realme, and at lenth out of this erdlie lyffe.

Now, I pray you, espy out quhat proffeit the Quene our Kingis modder sall gadder of him that hes bene (as sche knawis) sa oftentyme traitour to hir modder, to hir selfe, to hir sone, to hir brother, and to hir countre. Sche will be exemplis considder, that how mony collouris that evir this Chamæleon change, that it can nevir againis the nature of it turne perfytelie quhyte.

*Respice finem,*
1570. *Respice funem.*

FINIS.

# HERE FOLOWING BEGYNNYTHE

## A FULL LAMENTABLE CRONYCLE, OF THE DETHE AND FALSE MURDURE OF JAMES STEWARDE, KYNG OF SCOTYS, NOUGHT LONG AGONE PRISONER YN ENGLANDE, THE TYMES OF THE KYNGS HENRYE THE FIFTE AND HENRYE THE SIXTE.

Princes shuld take hede, and draw it to thare memorie, of Maistre Johanes de Moigne counsell, thus said yn Frenche langage, *Il nest pas sires de son pays, que de son peple n'est amez.*

FROM A MANUSCRIPT WRITTEN IN MCCCCXL.

Glasgow:

PRINTED FOR J. WYLIE & CO.

*By Robert Chapman.*

1818.

26.

# ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS MS. formerly belonged to Mr. Thoresby of Leeds, (see Nicolson's Historical Library,) now (1790) to Mr. Jackson of Clement's-lane, Lombard-street: written about 1440, as appears from a writing, and from a translation in the same MS. after this tract, of a book of morals by "John of Wiegnay, out of Frenshe into Englishe, by your humble servytoure John Shirley, att the full noble, honorable, and renomed cité of London, so as feblesse wold suffice, in his great and last age, the yere of oure lord a thousand, four hundreth fourty."

Mr. Pinkerton (in the Appendix to whose History of Scotland this tract first appeared) supposes that it was published in Scotland by authority; but we think it appears clearly from internal evidence to have been composed by a native of England. The following passage would certainly never have been written by a Scotchman, much less published by authority: "The Kyng of Scottes hadde leve enlagissid, and had saufecondit of his *maister* the kyng of England, (for so the Kyng of Scottes clepid hym,) to return safe and sownde ayene ynto his region of Scotteland."

THE

# DETHE

OF THE

# KYNGE OF SCOTIS.

ROBERT STEWARD, the kyng of Scotis, hadde ii sonnys; of the whiche the eldere was a semely mane of persone, and knyght, clepid the duke of Roseye; and the yonger, clepid James Steward, that was bote of yeres yonge, and meane of stature. This Duke of Roseye perseyved in his reason the greet age of the Kyng his fadir, the ympotencye of his lymmes and membirs, the febilenese of his persone that sore vexed hyme yn his age, begane unlawefully to tak upon hym the Royall guvernance. Thurghe the whiche presumcion, orguyle and pruyde, he wexe full of viciousness yn his lyvyng, as yn dispusellyng and defowlyng of yong madyns; and yn brekyng the ordire of weddelok, by his fowle ambicious lust of that voluptenus lust of advoutre. Wherfore the Lordes and the Nobles of the Rewme of Scotland, consideryng that vicious lyvyng of that said Duke * * *

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of hem beyng so negh of his roiall blode, and also of the gredi covatise that he oppressid and enpoverisid his comonalte. Withall the Kyng beyng present yn his said cownesell, rose up with a maneli swollon hart a knyght, clepid Sir Robert Grame, a grete gentilman and an Erles sune, a mane of grete wit and eloquence, wundir suttilye wittyd, and expert in the lawe: saying thes wordes opynly to the Lordes, "Sirs, yf ye woll firmely stand by that at I shall say to the Kyng, yn youre audience, I trust to God that we shall fynde a good remedye and helpe." To the which sayng the Lordes cosentid: and saide that they trustyng holly yn his prudent and discret manehode, wold conforme and consent, yn hie and low, to mayntene all that he wold tak on hand to say, for the general weele of hem, and of all that land, yn that mater by hym than mevid.

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fully yn the promyse made unto hym bi the said Lordes, said, "Is hit nat thus as I say?" Unto the which sayng none of all the astates afore rehersid wold, ne durst speke oone word, but kepid silence. The Kyng therwith percevyng all this presumptuous rebellion, and wirchyng of the said Sir Robert Grame, gretly movyd and stirryd ayenst him, as that reason wold, lete do hym arrest, and commandid to put hym yn sure and hard prisone.

This Sir Robert Grame, seyng hymself thus desavyd there of the said Lordes, spake and said yn this wise, "He that serveth a comon mane, he serveth by short processe of tyme." After this the Kynge exiled this Sir Robert Grame; and all his heritages and goodes deemed as forfaters to the Kyng.

Upon his exile this Sir Robert Grame tolie his [way] yato the cuntreis of the Wild Scottis, wherthat he conspired and ymagyned how that he myght destruye his Kyng. And furthwith he renounced his legeance, and by wordes, and by writyng, he defied hem, seying that he had destruyd hym, his wif, and his childerne, his heritages, and all his other godes, by his cruell tyranny. Wherfor he said he wold slee hym [with] his owne handes as his mortall enmye, yf wer he myght se tyme, and fynd wais and meanes. Therto the Kyng, hugely vexid in his spretes with the traiterous and malicious rebellion of the said Sir Robert Grame, did mak an opyn proclamacion by all the rewme of Scotteland that whoso myght slee or tak hyme, and bryng hym to the Kynges presence, shuld have iii thousand

denyes of gold, every pece worth half an Englissh Noble.

Nocht long after this the Kyng lete so ordeyne his parliament yn due forme, at Edenbourghe, somunde yn the yere of oure lord A Thousand, Foure Hundreth, Six and Thirtye, yn the fest of All Hallowen. To the which parliament the said Sir Robert Grame stired a full cruell vengance ayene the Kyng, sent privie messages and letturs to certayne men and servantes of the Duke of Albayne, whome the Kyng a litill afore hade done rigorusly to deth, lich as hit is entitild here afore, opynly, that if thay consent and faver hym, he wold uttirly take upon hym for to slee the Kyng, lest thurgh his tirannye and covetise he wold destruy this reume of Scotteland: and the corone of the land shall be yovon to Sir Robert Stuard, which is the Kyng's cosyn, and next of the right of the corone, bot yf the Kyng had a sune; the same Robert's fadir thenne liggyng in hostage to the Kyng of England, for the said James Kyng of Scottes, yn the towre of London, till that his fynaunce were fully content and paid. And the said Sir Robert's grantesire, the Erle of Athetelles, of that treison and counsell as hit was said; and by hymselfe secretly desirid and covetid to have the corone. For which causes the same Sir Robert Grame was half the better consentid to bryng thaire purpos to effecte. For this Sir Robert Stuard did ever abide yn the Kynges presence, full famulier aboute hyme at all houres, and most privey above all other; and was a full gentill squyer, fresh, lusty, and right amyable. Whome the Kyng entierly loved as his owne sone; and for the tendure

love that he had to hym he made [hym] Constable of all his host, and .... at the sege of Edenbourgh.*

After this the Kyng sodanly avisid made a solempne fest of the Cristynmes at Perth, which is clepid Sant Johns towne, which is from Edenbourgh on that other side of the Scottesh See, the which is vulgarly clepid the Water of Lethe. Yn the myddis of the way thare arose a woman of Yreland, that clepid herselfe as a suthsayer. The which anone as she saw the Kyng, she cried with lowde voise, sayng thus, "My Lord Kyng, and ye pase this water, ye shall never turne ayane on lyve." The Kyng heryng this was astonyed of her wordis; for bot a litill to fore he had red yn a prophesie, that yn the self same yere the Kyng of Scottes shuld be slayne. And therwithall the Kyng as he rode clepid to him oone of his knyghtis, and gave hym yn comaundment to torne ayene to speke with that woman, and ask of here what sheo wold, and what thyng sheo ment with her lowd crying? And sheo began, and told hym as ye hafe hard of the Kynge of Scottes, yf he passed that water. As now the Kynge askid her how sheo knew that? And sheo said that Huthart told her so. "Sire," quod ho, "men may calant y tak non hede of yond womans wordes, for sheo nys bot a drunkine fule, and wot not what sheo saith." And so with his folk passid the water, clepid the Scottisshe See, toward Saynt Johnnes towne, bot iiii myles from the cuntreth of the Wild Scottes; where, yn a close of

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This Sir Robert Graime, seyng hymself thus desavyd there of the said Lordes, spake and said yn this wise, "He that serveth a comon mane, he serveth by short processe of tyme." After this the Kynge exiled this Sir Robert Graime; and all his haritages and goodes deemed as forfaiters to the Kyng.

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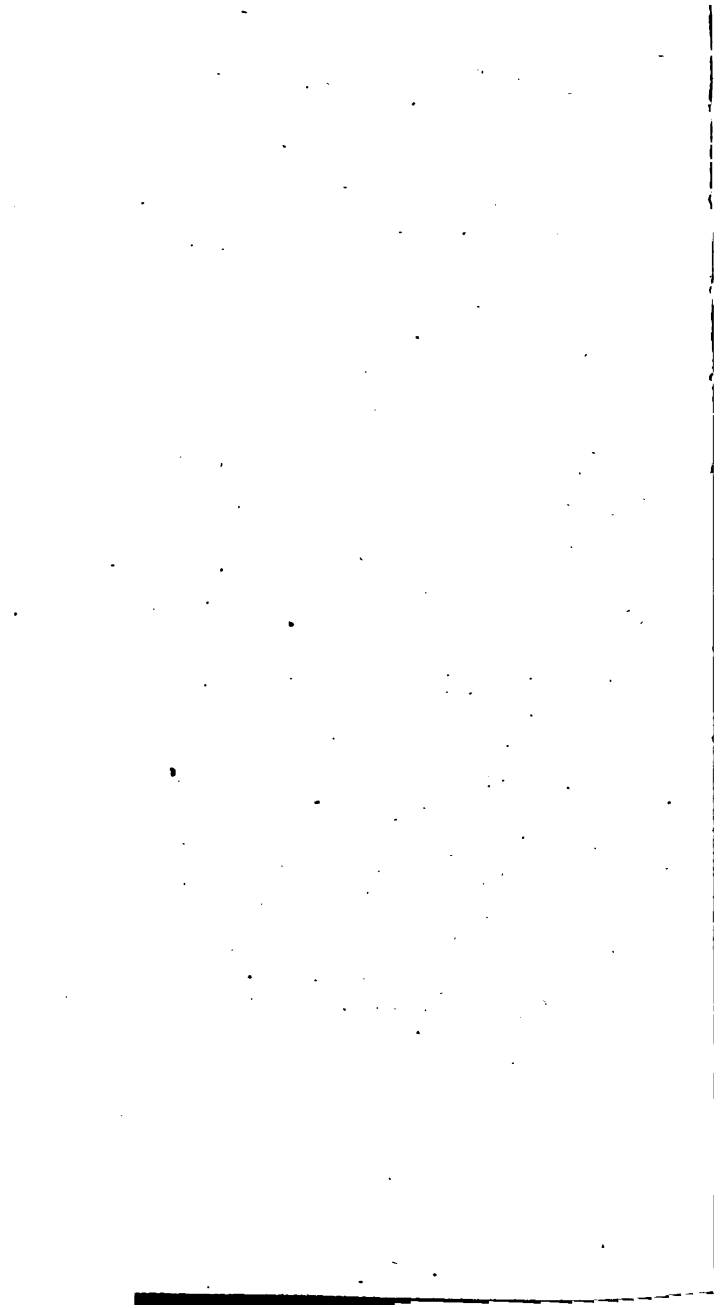

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Thes traturs furters, and contractes, ended by the counsell and consente of bothe the parties of the Kynges, the Kyng of Scottes hadde leve enlagissid, and had saufecondit of his maister the kyng of England, (for so the Kyng of Scottes clepid hym,) to return safe and sownde ayene ynto his region of Scotteland.

Of whos cumyng the Erle Douglas and the Erle of Bowgham,* fully advertised tō hemselfe in thaire owne misgovernance, he beyng Kyng and absent, ne durste nat abide his home-cumyng, for fere of the pitous dethe of the Duke of Rosey his brother, whome thay haved so mischevously murdered unlawfully yn prisone, as afore this cronycle made clere memorie, they ordeynd hem, for dowte of thare lyvys, with a gret nowmber of thare frendis and subjectes, with all the possibilité, to passe the see ynto France. From whense thay come never; bott both thay, with many other worshipfule capitaignes, knyghts, and swyers, and lordes of the Armynakes and Scottes, all enmyes to the Kyng of England, were slayne and takyne at the bataile of Vernoile yn Perch, withyne the revme of France, by that noble and so excellent prynce John of Loncaster, Duke of Bedeford, thene the Regent of France, to whome that day God granted the disconfitoure, and victorye of the feld.

Remanyng at thare home the Duke of Albayne, the Erle of Leynys, the Erle of Manthet, Watir Stuard, and other many lordes of Scotteland, thynk-

* John Stuart, son of Robert duke of Albany, and constable France.

yng that thay were so neghe of the Kynges blode of Scottes, and demyng also yn theire conseites that [thai] hade nat offended theire Kyng yn no wise; bot so abode still yn the lande the Kyng's cumyng home out of England ynto Scotteland. Whome all, with many other of thare afinite, the saide Kynge of Scottis lete arrest, and hem severally yn diverse castell full hard prisoned, till he had fondon meanes and wais for to do hem lawfully to deth, as false traitours, because of the false murdure of his brother the duke of Rosay. Whos deth the people of the land sore grutched, and mowrnid; seying that thay suppoised and ymagynd that the Kyng did rather that vigorious execucion upon the Lordes of his kyne for the covetise of thare possessions and goodes, thane for any other rightfull cause, althofe he fonde colourabill wais to serve his entent yn the contrarye.

All thos thinges thus done, the saide kynge of Scottes, noght stanchid of his unsacionable and gredi avarice, ordeynd that tallage, and other imposicions upon his people, gretter and more chargeant then ever were acustumyd afore that tyme. So that the comoners of his land secretly clepid hym nat rightwes, bot a tirannous prynce, what for the outrageus imposicions importables of use, on taxes and tallages, upon his poure subjectes and peple. But after the wisdome of some philosophers the comone langage of the peiple oft spekith without reason. Nevertheless many of the Lordes of that land, dredyng sore of the harme that myght betide, drowghe hem to counsell how thay myght withstand and resist the Kynges tyranye, sithe he hade so litill pite of the dethe done to hyme of his Lordes, many

of hem beyng so negh of his roiall blode, and also of the gredi covatise that he oppressid and enpoverisid his comonalte. Withall the Kyng beyng present yn his said cownesell, rose up with a maneli swollon hart a knyght, clepid Sir Robert Grame, a grete gentilman and an Erles sune, a mane of grete wit and eloquence, wundir suttilye wittyd, and expert in the lawe: saying thes wordes opynly to the Lordes, "Sirs, yf ye woll firmely stand by that at I shall say to the Kyng, yn youre audience, I trust to God that we shall fynde a good remedye and helpe." To the which sayng the Lordes cosentid: and saide that they trustyng holly yn his prudent and discret manehode, wold conforme and consent, yn hie and low, to mayntene all that he wold tak on hand to say, for the general weele of hem, and of all that land, yn that mater by hym than mevid.

Upon this the Kyng lete to somond a parliament of the iii astatis of his rewme, where this same Sir Robert Grame, fully sette and asurid and purposid to performe that at he had behight and promysid unto the Lordes, as is afore rehersid. He rose upe with a grete corage, with a violent chere and countenance, sette handes upon the Kyng sayng thes wordes, "I arrest you yn the name of all the thre astates of your reume, here now assemblid yn this present parliament, for right as youre liege peple be bundun and sworne to obeye your Majeste noble riall, yn the same wise bene ye sworne and ensurid to kepe youre peple, to kepe and guverne youre lawe, so that ye do hem no wronge, bot yn all right mantene and defend hem." And there and then forthwith the said Sir Robert Grame, asuryng hym

fully yn the promyse made unto hym bi the said Lordes, said, "Is hit nat thus as I say?" Unto the which sayng none of all the astates afore rehersid wold, ne durst speke oone word, but kepid silence. The Kyng therwith persevyng all this presumptuous rebellion, and wirchyng of the said Sir Robert Graime, gretly movyd and stirryd ayenst him, as that reason wold, lete do hym arrest, and commandid to put hym yn sure and hard prisone.

This Sir Robert Graime, seyng hymself thus desavyd there of the said Lordes, spake and said yn this wise, "He that serveth a comon maine, he serveth by short processe of tyme." After this the Kynge exiled this Sir Robert Graime; and all his heritages and goodes deemed as forfaiters to the Kyng.

Upon his exile this Sir Robert Graime tokе his [way] ynto the cuntreis of the Wild Scottis, wherthat he conspired and ymagyned how that he myght destruye his Kyng. And furthwith he renounced his legeance, and by wordes, and by writyng, he defied hem, seying that he had destruyd hym, his wif, and his childerne, his heritages, and all his other goodes, by his cruell tyranny. Wherfor he said he wold slee hym [with] his owne handes as his mortall enmye, yf wer he myght se tyme, and fynd wais and meanes. Therto the Kyng, hugely vexid in his spretes with the traiturous and malicious rebellion of the said Sir Robert Graime, did mak an opyn proclamacion by all the rewme of Scotteland that whoso myght slee or tak hyme, and bryng hym to the Kynges presence, shuld have iii thousand

A

# DESCRIPTION

OF

# SAINT KILDA,

GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF ITS

| | |
|---|---|
| SITUATION, | ADJACENT ISLANDS, |
| EXTENT, | ANCIENT LAWS, |
| SOIL, | GOVERNMENT, |
| PRODUCT, | RELIGION, |
| BAYS, | CUSTOMS, AND |
| ROCKS, | LATE REFORMATION. |

BY THE

REV. MR. ALEX. BUCHAN,

*Late Minister there.*

PRINTED IN THE YEAR M,DCC,LXXIII.

Glasgow:

RE-PRINTED FOR JOHN WYLIE & CO.

*By Robert Chapman.*

1818.

# PREFACE.

THE Description of Saint Kilda was first written by one Mr. Martin, gentleman, who was once governor to the laird of M'Leod, and lived in the Western Isles as a factor. His book being dear, and out of date, the Rev. Mr. Alexander Buchan, their late minister, and my deceased father, thought fit to write the following Description, which he gathered partly by good informations, and partly by his own observations; he having been their first settled minister, and lived amongst them twenty-four years, till his death. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Edinburgh in St. Giles; and having past his trials, was ordained and sent by the Rev. Commission of the Church of Scotland to be minister at St. Kilda in the year 1705, as appears by their pendant or written acts, which he had along with him. And he being master of the Irish tongue, and qualified with ministerial gifts suitable to his office, did labour amongst them during the foresaid time with great success in the work of the gospel, having found them most ignorant, and much given to idolatry. But by the blessing of God upon his labours, he brought them to the knowledge of the Christian Protestant religion, and had the sacrament of the Lord's Supper several times dispensed amongst them; and erected an eldership and kirk

session, with other steps of reformation and order. He was a person of great piety, as appears by several religious letters written by him to persons of quality and respect which are yet to be seen in their hands. He died about the beginning of the year 1730, of a high fever; yet in perfect judgment, expressing his assurance of his interest in Christ. He had thirteen children, many of them being now dead, and I the second daughter was sent from St. Kilda to the schools in Glasgow for my education, and was shipwrecked upon the Mull of Cantyre, when I was about fifteen years of age; yet I went to Glasgow for my education, where I continued for some time; from thence I went to Edinburgh where I had the misfortune to be beat by a horse on the street and broke my jaw-bone, which has rendered me uncapable of earning my bread by the needle, to which I was brought up. I had also another misfortune to get my arm broke, and not being carefully sett, is mighty uneasy to me.

The copy of the following sheets, written with my father's hand, was left in the hand of Mr. Nicol Spence, church agent, who either through carelessness, or some other ends, omitted several that were in the original copy.

I caused print the late edition myself, which being all sold off, I was advised by several ministers and others to re-print the same, with this short preface, which I have done as I could; hoping it will please the ingenious reader, to whom I wish all happiness and prosperity, which shall be the earnest desire of your real well-wisher,

JEAN BUCHAN.

# DESCRIPTION

OF

# SAINT KILDA, *alias* HIRTA.

THE first of those names is taken from one Kilder, who lived here; and from him the large well Tonbir-Kilda has also its name. Hirta is taken from the Irish *Ler*, which in that language signifies West. This isle lies directly opposite to the isles of N. Uist, Harries, &c. and is reckoned 18 leagues from the former, and 20 from Harries. See a Description of the Western Isles of Scotland, by M. Martin, Gent. printed London 1703, page 280.

St. Kilda, in Herm. Moll's Map 1714, is 57 Deg. 56 Min. N. latitude, and 10 D. 30 M. longitude from the London Meridian. It lies 60 M. W. and by S. from Harries, 80 M. from Lewis Isles, about 90 M. W. from the Isle of Skye, and 220 M. N. N. W. from the Mull of Cantire, and 220 N. from the North of Ireland, 150 M. from the nearest part of the Continent of Scotland.

The inhabitants of this little isle, or commonwealth, whereof we are now begun to speak, may with more safety live quiet and secure than the men of Laish of old, (mentioned Judges xviii. 7,) though the Danites were minded to attack them; because nature hath fenced and surrounded them so with one whole face of a rock, as it were, that there can be no access for any in a friendly way to get to them, (by all the comers can do, yea and with the inhabitants' assistance also,) except at some few particular times, and that under very favourable weather, too, and but at one place only, where the inhabitants can easily defend themselves from any hazard from, and greatly offend any that shall attack them in a hostile way, and also defy their landing against their will; though their number, viz. of the inhabitants, does not ordinarily exceed 200.

This people, as they are simple and innocent, so are they harbourous and very kind to strangers, who either may be coming or cast in about them; as is generally known by all who have stood in need of their assistance. Thus particularly, some instances hereof the reader may take from M. Martin, Gent. his book, entitled, A Voyage to St. Kilda, printed at London, 1698. We choose this author as a witness to the truth of this part of our account of the people of this island, because (all others who have wrote of it having been very lame, and in sundry things mistaken, in any relation they have given of it) he was there, viz. in the year 1697, and knows this for his own part by experience. And to do that gentleman justice, what he relates of it is generally good, as they were then circumstantiate; and so the

best description any has given of this people and island till now. But because that book is out of print, (and besides of a great price though it were not,) the reader may take a few of his remarks anent this place, which are still genuine, as we find them fitting to our present purpose, as we go along. And for the above, (viz. their kindness and civility to strangers,) take his own experience, as he relates it in his own words, page 9th.

" ———The first of June (viz. 1697)———we rowed to St. Kilda. As we came close up the rocks, some of the inhabitants, who were then employed in setting their gins, welcomed us with a God save you, their usual salutation;———

" They outran our boat to the town; from thence they brought the steward and all the inhabitants of both sexes to receive us: we approached the utmost part of the low rock, called the Saddle; a parcel of the inhabitants were mounted upon it, having on their feet the usual dress on such occasions, i. e. socks of old rags, sewed with feathers instead of thread; our boat being come pretty near, it was kept off this rock with long poles; some of their number, coming by pairs into the sea, received Mr. Campbell and me upon their shoulders, and carried us to land, where we were received with all the demonstrations of joy and kindness they were able to express;———All of us walking together to the little village, where there was a lodging prepared for us, furnished with beds of straw; and according to the ancient custom of the place, the officer, who presides over them in the steward's absence, summoned the inhabitants, who by concert agreed upon

a daily maintenance for us, as bread, butter, cheese, mutton, fowls, eggs, also fire, &c. all which was to be given in at our lodgings twice every day; this was done in the most regular manner, each family by turns paying their quota proportionally to their lands. I remember," says he, "the allowance for each man, *per diem*, besides a barley cake, was eighteen of the eggs laid by the fowl called by them lavy, and a greater number of the lesser eggs as they differed in proportion; the largest of these eggs is near in bigness to that of a goose, the rest of the eggs gradually of a lesser size."——Thus far of his own words; and much more might be added.

Take a second instance of their humanity, page 87, *ibid.* "The inhabitants had occasion to show great kindness to a boat's crew, that was driven from the opposite isle, South Uist.——So that it may be said of them with great justice, that their charity is as extensive as the occasion of it."

Take a third instance from Author *Ibid*, p. 88, which (though not directly to the former purpose, yet worthy the relating, and that to their great commendation) is, says he, "They told me of a ship that dropped anchor in the mouth of the bay the preceding year, and that the Lowlanders aboard her were not Christians. I inquired, if their interpreter, (who they said spake bad Irish) had owned this to be a truth. They answered not; but that they knew this by their practices, and that in these three particulars: the first was, their working upon Sunday, carrying several boats full of stones aboard for ballast; the second was, the taking away some of their cows without any return for them, except a

few Irish copper pieces; and the third was, the attempt made by them to ravish their women, a practice altogether unknown in St. Kilda, where there has not been one instance of fornication or adultery for many ages before this time. I remember," says he, "they told me, that the bribe offered for debauching the poor woman was a piece of broad money, than which there could be nothing less charming in a place where the inhabitants cannot distinguish a guinea from a sixpence."——— Wherefore, as the same Author says, p. 130,

"I must not omit acquainting the reader, that the account given of the seamen's rudeness to the inhabitants, has created great prejudices in them against seamen in general; and though I endeavoured to bring them into some good opinion of them, it will not be," says he, "I hope, improper here to deliver the terms upon which the inhabitants are resolved to receive strangers, and no otherwise. They will not admit of any number exceeding ten; and those too must be unarmed, or else the inhabitants will oppose them with all their might; but if any number of them not exceeding that above said, come peaceably and with good designs, they may expect water and fire gratis, and what else the place affords, at the easiest rates in the world."———

The air here is sharp and wholesome; the hills are often covered with ambient white mists, which in the winter are forerunners of snow, if they continue on the tops of the hills; but this in summer, rain; and descending to the valleys, of extensive heat. The night and day there being much in

length with our own in the north of Scotland. Their harvest and winter are liable to great winds and rain; the south-west wind annoying them most.

St. Kilda is two miles long from East to West, one mile in breadth, viz. from South to North, five miles in circumference. The bay, which is not so fenced with rocks as the rest, lying to the South-east, is generally well fenced with a raging sea. This bay is half a mile in length, and as much in breadth. Vessels do not ordinarily anchor here, for fear of damage by stormy weather; but look on it as safer to do that without it. The only landing-place here, is upon a rock on the North side of this bay; the which rock hath a little declension, and is slippery, being covered with sundry sorts of sea-weeds: all which, with a raging sea, which is seldom wanting there, renders it very inaccessible; and hardly is there a possibility of landing, but under favour of a neap tide, a North-east or West wind, or perfect calm. These circumstances concurring, the boat (called the birlin) is brought up sides of the rock, upon which all the inhabitants of both sexes hale her through this rock, with a rope fastened about the stem of it.

There is plain sand at the head of this bay, to be seen in summer only; the sea in winter washing it off the stones: but there is no safe landing here at all, which some have found to their cost. When the wind is at South or North-east, some ships take shelter in a little bay on the west side of this isle, which is all faced with an iron-coloured rock; there being a place of the rock here, where one may land at neap tide or calm offing. The sea is so very im-

petuous all round this isle, that big stones are removed from their place, and cast into certain other called the Gallies Dock: some of which, when measured, have been found to be 7 and 8 foot long, and 3 or 4 broad. There are several fountains of good water on each side of this isle.

There is an ancient fort on the south end of the bay, called Dunsir Volg. *i. e.* the Fort of the Volscii, being the sense the antiquaries of the opposite isles of Uist put upon it.

The isle Soa is near half a mile distant from the west side of St. Kilda; it is a mile in circumference, very high and steep all around. Borera lies above two leagues N. of St. Kilda; it is near a mile in circumference; the most of it surrounded with a high rock. The largest and two lesser isles are good for pasturage, and abound with sea-fowls from March till September: the solan geese being very numerous in Mr. Martin's time. They then used no salt, but preserved their fowls, and the eggs of sea wild-fowl, with peat-ashes; and which are astringent to such as be not accustomed to eat them.

The inhabitants, whose number was about twenty-seven families in Mr. Martin's time, but now thirty or thirty-three, live together in a little village, having all the signs of an extreme poverty; their houses of a low form, and very rudely built. It is surrounded with four mountains, which are as so many ramparts of defence, and amphitheatres, from whence a fair prospect of the ocean and isles are to be seen in a fair day. This village hath a rivulet, running close by it. There is another celebrated well, called by the inhabitants the Well of

Youth, inaccessible by any but themselves, because of the deepness of the rocks, they being wonderful climbers; a specimen whereof may be narrated afterwards.

There is a rivulet below Kilder's Well, serving for washing linen; which it doth as well without soap as other water with it: strangers have found the experience thereof, particularly Mr. Martin, as well as others.

The whole island is one hard rock, formed into four high mountains, three whereof are in the middle; all thinly covered over with black or brown earth not above a foot, and in some places half a foot deep, except in the top of them, where it is above three foot deep, and affords them good turf.

The grass here is very short, but kindly; yet have they now but little milk, the best cow among them (whereof the number, small and great, exceeds not ninety, but fat and sweet fleshed) not giving above a Scots chopin. The number of sheep maintained there and the two adjacent isles, does not exceed two thousand, and generally speckled, some white, some philamort, and of an ordinary size; but resemble not goats in any thing, save in the bigness of their horns, as some writers by misinformation have related; they are never milked, (viz. those of the lesser isles; but these of St. Kilda are,) which disposes them to be more prolific; they have two or three lambs at a birth, especially in the isle Soa, which feeds five hundred sheep, as also in some little adjacent isles of Harries and N. Uist. There are none can catch the sheep but the inhabitants, who will pursue them as nimbly, and with as great

freedom down the steep descent, as if it were a plain field.

Their horses exceed not the number of twenty, all of red colour, very low and smooth skinned; and are employed only in carrying their turf and corn, and at their anniversary cavalcade; of which afterwards.

In this and other adjacent little isles, there are plenty of wild-fowls and eggs, (but no tame fowls, as hens, &c. till of late their deceased minister's wife carried a cock and some hens there, which was a wonder to the inhabitants, who had never seen any before, and said they, viz. the cock and hens, would put away all their fowls,) insomuch that in the time of Mr. Martin's visiting these isles, they would keep yearly above 20,000 young and old fowls dried, not salted, in their little stone houses, of which there are some hundreds for preserving their fowls, eggs, &c. fresh.

The solan goose is in size somewhat less than a land goose; their bill is long, small pointed, and very hard, and pierces an inch deep into wood, in their descent after a fish laid on a board, as some use to catch them. When they sleep, they put their head under their wings, but one of them keeps watch; if the centinel observes the fowler, but not near, he gives warning, by crying, Grog, Grog, at which none of them move; if he perceive the danger approaching, he gives warning, by crying, Bir, Bir, at which all of them take wing; if the fowler surprize the centinel, which often happens, all the rest are easily caught by the neck, one after another. When this fowl fishes for herring, it flies

about sixty yards high, and then descends perpendicularly into the sea, but after all other fish asquint. The herrings being in greater shoals than any other fish, is said to be the reason of their so doing.

These fowls will have strange battles sometimes, whereof the reader may take one instance, as Mr. Martin relates it, p. 7. of his book, and is as follows, viz. "One of them finding his neighbour's nest without the fowl; lays hold upon the opportunity, and steals off it as much grass as he could conveniently carry, taking his flight towards the ocean; from whence he returns after a short turn, as if he had made a foreign purchase, but it does not pass for such;——for the owner discovered the fact, before this thief got out of sight, and being too nimble for his cunning, waits his return, all armed with fury, engages him desperately. This bloody battle was fought above our heads, and prov'd fatal to the thief, who fell down dead near our boat, that our men took him up, and presently dressed and ate him; which they reckoned as an omen and prognostick of good success in this (Mr. Martin and the rest being yet at sea) voyage." Thus he.

St. Kilda people, when the heavens are not clear, take their measures for sailing from the flight of their fowls, as from a sure compass; experience shewing that every tribe bends their course to the respective quarters, tho' out of sight of the isle: And strangers have found it exactly to quadrate with a compass; the inhabitants, nevertheless, preferring it to the surest compass. At other times, they take their measures by the stars. When the waves are beat-

ing with a noise upon the rocks, and white, it is ordinarily a sign of a lasting storm, but sometime, in summer, 'tis a sign of excessive heat approaching.

About two leagues and a half to the north of St. Kilda, is a rock called Stack-ly, 200 paces in circumference. One would think it next to impossible to climb this rock; but St. Kilda inhabitants do, and have a pyramid house upon it for lodging, in August, to the which a certain number of them go by lots, to catch the solan geese who are very numerous here; and if they were not there then, one windy day would deprive them of 6 or 7000, the weather then proving unconstant; this being the time also they use to take wing. Those, who are thus sent, act for the public interest; and when they have knocked on the head all that may be reached, they carry them to a sharp point, called the Casting point, from whence they throw them into the sea, until the boatman cry, Enough; and having got all into the boat, they return home. After their arrival, every man has his share proportionable to his lands; and what remains below ten, belongs to the Officer as a branch of his yearly salary. The Steward told, that they had found a red coat, a brass sun-dial, an arrow, and some Molucco beans in their nests. The solan goose is reckoned the sharpest sighted of all sea fowls. They are very plenty upon other rocks also; as Borera, half a league from Stack-ly, to the North-east of it: It feeds about 400 sheep per annum: it is inaccessible, except in one place, and that in a calm. Within pistol-shot, and to the west of Borera, lies the rock Stack-Narmin; It abounds with solan geese and

other fowls, where they have many stone pyramids (as they have also upon their other rocks) both for lodging the inhabitants and drying their fowls. They will have many hundreds of the preceding year's solan geese, with whom, when they return home, the owners fall to share each man his own, each having his own particular mark on the foot, peculiar to the owner.

The land-fowls, produced here, are Hawks, extraordinary good, Eagles, Plovers, Crows, Wrens, Stone-chaker, Craker, Cuckoo; they fancy that this last is rarely seen there, but on extraordinary occasions, as the death of the proprietor M'Leod, of the Steward, or the arrival of some notable stranger.

The sea-fowls are, first, Gair-fowl, the stateliest and largest of all the fowls here. The Solan goose, as some imagine, from the Irish word *Soul-ar*. The inhabitants are accustomed to drink its egg raw, finding it by experience to be very pectoral and cephalick. They hatch by turns; and when the one returns from fishing, it has 5 or 6 herrings in its gorget, intire and undigested; upon whose arrival at the nest, the hatching fowl puts its head into the fisher's throat, and pulls them out, as with a pincer, and that with a great noise. They pull grass for their nests only in windy days (from their coming in March, till the young fowl is ready to fly in August or September) these days being their vacation time from fishing, as the inhabitants say; but they often find a fatality attending this their frugality, at least to many of them; for after their fatigue, they often fall asleep, and then the inhabitants catch them, being ready at hand to knock

them on the head; their food is herring, mackrels, and seys; English hooks are often found in their stomacks, tho' there be none used nearer than 20 leagues distant: Wherever they are (viz. the solan geese) 'tis a sure sign the herrings are there, or not far off.

The tribe of old barren solan geese have no nests, but have a dwelling of their own, separate from all others, and meddle not with the hatching, or any other fowls, but sympathise and fish together.

The solan geese are catch'd (besides stealing on them in the night-time) by gins of horse-hair.

There is another fowl called Fulmar; it equals the malls of the second rate. 'Tis of the size of a moor hen, and its eggs are larger than a solan goose's; the shell so tender that it breaks in pieces if the season proves rainy. If its eggs are once taken away it lays no more for that year, as other fowls do, both a second and third time: It comes in November, always accompanied with boisterous west winds, great snow, rain and hail, and is the only sea-fowl that stays here all the year over, except September, and part of October. The inhabitants prefer this to all other: The old have a delicate taste, with a mixture of fat and lean; the young are all fat, but the bones; and if 'tis approached, when ready to take wing, ejects the quantity of a mutchkin of pure oil out at its bill, and is sure therewith to hit any that attacks it in the face, tho' 7 paces distant, for his defence, as the inhabitants say; but the inhabitants are careful to prevent this, by surprising the fowl behind, having for this purpose a wooden dish fixed to the end of

their rods, which they hold before his bill, as he spouts out the oil; they surprise him also from behind by taking hold of his bill, which they tie with a thread, and untying it at home, let it fall into a dish; This oil is sometimes of a reddish, sometimes of a yellow colour; the inhabitants and other islanders put a great value upon this oil, and use it as a catholicon for diseases, especially for any acking in the bones, stitches, &c. Some in the adjacent isles use it as a purge, others as a vomiter; it is hot in quality, and forces its passage through any wooden vessel. It has been successfully used against rheumatick pains, in Edinburgh and London: in the latter, it has been used with success to asswage the swelling of a strain'd foot, a cheek swelled with the tooth-ach, and for discussing a hard boil. If the fulmar keeps the sea, or goes from land to sea, 'tis a sure sign of west winds, blow it at present what way it will; but it is not expected for some time, if he keeps land.

The Scraber, so called in St. Kilda; in the Farn islands, Puffinet; in Holland, the Greenland Dove; of the bulk of a pidgeon: it comes in March in the night-time, and is never seen but in the night; it feeds on live whale, and uses sorrel with it, they say; for both are found in its nest; 'tis fat, as the young Fulmar.

The Lavy, so called by the inhabitants of St. Kilda, by the Welsh a Guillem; it is near the bigness of a Duck; its egg is near the bulk of a goose egg; it is, for ordinary food, preferred to all other eggs had there by the inhabitants; If it stays on land three days without intermission, it is a sign

of a Southerly wind, and fair weather; but if it goes to sea ere the third expire, it is then a sign of a storm.

The Falk, so called by the inhabitants; the Rasor Bill in the west of England, the Auk in the north; the Murre in Cornwal, Alca Hoeri, it is a size less than the Lavy: Its egg in bigness is near to the Lavy or Guillem egg.

The Bouger, so called by those in St. Kilda; Coulterneb, by those in the Farn islands; and in Cornwal, Pope; it is of the size of a pigeon: They breed in holes under ground.

The Assilag is as large as a lintwhite; it comes about the end of March, and goes away in November.

There are three sorts of Sea-malls here: The first near as big as a goose, the second considerably less, the third less than a tame duck.

The Firma, or Sea-pie, by the inhabitants called Trillichan: If it comes in the beginning of May, it is a sign of a good summer; if later, the contrary.

'Tis to be observed of all the sea-fowls here, that they are fatter in time of hatching than at other times; being then well fed with ease.

Every fowl lays an egg three different times (except the gair fowl and fulmar, which lay but one) if the first and second be taken away, and none but a third that year; and only one, if not taken away: by which the vast number of fowls may be guest at, if it is considered that they lay but one a year, if not taken away.

'Tis observed here, that when the April moon

the climbing this rock would seem impossible to any except themselves. Also,

Some years ago, about twenty of their number happened to be confined in the rock Stack-Narmin, which has not any earth or grass to cover it, for several days together, without any kind of food. The season then not favouring their endeavours to return home, one of their number plucked all their knives out of their hafts, wrought a hook out of each, and then beat them out to their former length; having a stone for an anvil, and a dagger for a hammer and file; and with their rude hooks, and a few sorry fishing-lines, they purchased fish for their maintenance, during their confinement.

All the men of the isle having gone to the island Borera for purchase, the rope (whereof they have two, of twenty-four fathoms length each, for the use of this little commonwealth, and especially for their climbing, which they do by turns; these ropes are all secured round with cow-hides, well salted to preserve them from being cut by the edge of the rocks,) that fastened their boat, happened to break; and by this accident the boat was quite lost, and the poor people confined in the isle, from the middle of March to the latter end of May, without so much as a crust of bread, but wanted not sheep, fowl and fish, in abundance. In this case, they were at a loss how to acquaint their wives and friends, that all of them were alive: but, to effect this, they kindled as many fires on the top of an eminence, as there were men in number. This was no sooner seen, and the fires counted, than the women understood the signal, and were so overjoyed

at this unexpected news (they judging them also to be lost) that they fell to labour the ground with the foot-spade, a fatigue they had never been accustomed to; it being their men's work when at home; and that year's product of corn was the most plentiful that they had for many years before. After the Steward's arrival in the isle, about the end of May, he sent his galley or birlin, to bring home all the men confined in the isle, to their so much longed-for St. Kilda; where the mutual joy between them and their wives, and other relations, was extraordinary.

These poor people, when they fall from the rocks in climbing, (which is frequenter now than formerly, by reason of their weakness through coarse feeding, though formerly they were reckoned stronger than any of the other isles about,) and perish, their wives make doleful songs on such occasions, which they call Lamentations. The chief topics, or subject-matter of these elegies, are their courage, their dexterity in climbing, and their great affection which they showed to their wives and children.

By their climbing they run very great hazards, as may be conceived by what is above related. One of them, as he was walking barefooted along the rocks, where he had fixed his gin, happened to put his great toe in a noose, and thereby stumbling, immediately fell down the rock, but hung by the toe, the gin being strong enough to hold him, and the stones that secured it on each end being heavy: the poor man continued hanging thus for the space of a night, on a rock twenty fathoms high above the sea, until one of his neighbours, hearing him cry

in the morning, came to his rescue, who drew him up by the feet, and so saved him.

It is ordinary with a fowler, after he has got his purchase of fowls, to pluck the fattest, and carry it home, to his wife if married, or to his sweetheart if a bachelor, in token of his affection; and this is called the Rock Fowl: and it is the greatest present they can make, considering the danger they run in acquiring it.

The richest man in St. Kilda has not above eight cows, two or three horses, and eighty sheep. If a native here have but a few cattle, he will marry a woman, though she have no portion of her friends but a pound of horse hair, to make a gin to catch fowls. They regard no portion or parentage, for marrying a woman, in respect of a good servant.

The finest Hawks in the western isles are here.

There is plenty of Cod and Ling, of a great size, round this isle; the improvement of which might be of great advantage.

The inhabitants speak the Irish tongue only; they express themselves slowly, but pertinently, and have the same language with those of Harries and other isles, who retain the Irish in its purity.

Their common habit anciently was of sheep-skins: the men now, or some 20 years before, wear a short doublet reached to the waste, and a plaid folded above it, which is fastened before with a Fulmer's bone, girded about the middle with a leathern belt; they wear caps of the same colour and shape with the capuchins, but shorter, and bonnets on the Lord's day; but the poorer, cloth caps. Some of them now have got breeches, they are wide and

open at the knees; they wear cloth hose, and some knit upon wires, since their late Minister's wife went there; for none other there could knit them, neither knew they of any such stockings ere her time. They go barefooted and legged in summer time. Their leather is dressed with the roots of tormentil.

The women there wear upon their heads a linen dress, in the form of our northern highland women's curtchies, and a small lock of hair hanging down each cheek, knotted at the lower end: they have a plaid for their upper garment, fastened with a broach of brass about the cholar-bone. The Steward's wife had her broach of silver anciently, but neither the dress nor buckle is used by her now. Their ordinary shoes are made of the necks of the solan geese, cut above the eyes, the crown of the head serving for the heel, the whole skin being cut close at the breast, which end being sewed for the toes, the foot enters into it, as into a piece of narrow stocking; it lasts not above five days, and if the down side is next to the ground not above three or four days. Both sexes wear plaiding or coarse flannel shirts, but put them off when they go to bed. They thicken their clothes upon flakes of rods, or mats of hay twisted and woven together in small ropes; they work hard at this employment, first making use of their hands, and at last of their feet; and when they are at this work, they commonly sing all the time, one of their number acting the part of a prime chantress, whom all the rest follow and obey. Their ordinary bread is barley bread, or this meal is with some oat meal mixed and baken.

They have no mill going by wind or water in all the country, to grind their corn, but hand-mills; which are a pair of stones in form of millstones, or grindstones, about two foot over. They use to spread a cloth (made of wool or straw) or a sheep-skin on the ground to receive the meal, and lay their little millstones, called querns, thereon; the upper stone having a hole at the centre to let in the corn, and a stick, about six inches long and an inch thick, fixed in the middle of the semi-diameter, betwixt the centre and the utmost edge, for a handle: so one sits down with a leg on each side of the querns, who with one hand turns the upper quern, and with the other feeds in the corn or barley; the meal all the while issuing out around the querns. Of these querns, every family that is able provides a pair, and the poorer sort borrow. They have only one kiln in the isle, which is common to all, for drying their corn; but often they burn the straw of unthreshed oats, whereby the oats are sufficiently dryed, without the use of the kiln.

There is no smith in the island, nor shoemaker, nor tailor, and but two weavers, who serve to weave their coarse woollen cloth; for they have no flax in all their lands: sometimes the Steward brings a tailor with him, who makes clothes to such as employ him; others do the best they can for themselves.

One of the inhabitants of St. Kilda being windbound once in the island of Harris, was prevailed on, by some of them that traded to Glasgow, to go thither with him. He was astonished at the length of the voyage, and of the great kingdoms as he thought them, that is, isles by which they sailed;

the largest in his way did not exceed 24 miles in length, but he considered them, comparatively, with his own little native country. Upon his arrival at Glasgow, he was like one that dropped from the clouds into a new world, whose language, habit, &c. were in all respects new to him; he never imagined that such big houses of stone were made with hands; and for the pavements of the streets, he thought it must needs be altogether natural, for he could not believe that men would be at the pains to beat stones into the ground to walk upon. He stood dumb at the door of his lodging with the greatest admiration; and when he saw a coach and two horses, he thought it to be a little house that they were drawing at their tail, with men in it; but he condemned the coachman for a fool to sit so uneasy, for he thought it safer on the back of one of the horses. The mechanism of the coach-wheel, and its running about, was the greatest of all his wonders.

When he went through the streets, he desired to have one to lead him by the hand. Thomas Ross a merchant, and others that took the diversion to carry him through the town, asked his opinion of the high church? He answered, that it was a large rock; that there were some in St. Kilda much higher, but that these were the best coves he ever saw; for that was the idea he conceived of the pillars and arches upon which the church stands. When they carried him into the church, he was yet more surprised, and held up his hands with admiration, wondering how it was possible for men to build such a prodigious fabric, which he supposed to be the largest in the universe. He could not

imagine what the pews were designed for. He fancied that the people that wore masks (not knowing whether they were men or women) had been guilty of some ill thing, for which they dared not show their faces. He was amazed at women's wearing patches, and fancied them to have been blisters. Pendants seemed to him the most ridiculous of all things: he condemned periwigs mightily, and much more the powder used in them; in fine, he condemned all things as superfluous he saw not in his own country. He looked with amazement almost on every thing, all being new to him. When he heard the church bells ring, he was under a mighty consternation, as if the fabric of the world had been in great disorder. He did not think there had been so many people in the world, as in the city of Glasgow; and it was a great mystery to him to think, what they could all design by living so many in one place. He wondered how they could all be furnished with provisions; and when he saw big loaves, he could not tell whether they were bread, stone, or wood. He was amazed to think how they could be provided with ale, for he never saw any there that drank water (They have no ale, beer, nor other liquors in St. Kilda.) for more than twenty years. Yet,

Mr. Martin, in his book of St. Kilda, 1689, tells us, page 114, of their brewing ale, but rarely; and for barm, they use the juice of nettle-roots, which they put into a dish with a little barley-meal dough; these sowens (i. e. flummery) being blended together, produce a good yest, which put their wort into a ferment, and makes good ale, so that when they

drink plentifully of it, it disposes them to dance merrily. Their common drink is water or whey.

The St. Kilda man at Glasgow, wondered how they made them fine clothes; and to see stockings made without being first cut, and afterwards sewed, was no small wonder to him. He thought it foolish in a woman to wear thin silks, as being a very improper habit for such as pretended to any sort of employment. When he saw the women's feet, he judged them to be of another shape than those of the men, because of the different shape of their shoes. He did not approve of the heels of shoes worn by men or women; and when he observed horses with shoes on their feet, and fastened with iron nails, he could not forbear laughing, and thought it the most ridiculous thing that fell under his observation. He longed to see his native country again, and passionately wished it were blessed with ale, brandy and tobacco, (of which last they are great lovers,) and iron, as Glasgow was.

There are some Eagles there, which sometimes do them harm, by taking away some of their sheep and lambs; though Mr. Martin, in his time, says, that they touched nothing there, but made their purchase in the adjacent isles and continent.

Their way of getting fire in Martin's time, when they went to the lesser isles, was, by a steel, flint, and tinder, which an inhabitant furnished them, for which he had a tax or gratuity allowed him, called by them the fire-penny; which Martin relieved them of, he says, by showing them how to fetch fire from the crystal rocks, which was surprising to them: but for this they have a better way now, viz. by carry-

ing fire with them in a pot, which the inhabitants furnish by turns; wherefore the furnisher has allowance, called the pot-penny. They have no money here, but do buy or sell by barter. The inhabitants here contract a cough sometimes, when strangers come among them and stay for any time, which continues some eight or ten days; with this the infants upon the breast are infected, as has been observed.

In Martin's time they fed much on fowl, (they then being so plenty,) especially the solan goose, puffin and fulmar, but eat no salt with them; which then was judged to be the cause of a leprosy, that broke out among them: And he says, the year after his being there, twelve of them died of this distemper, and were in the same condition with a man there, who feeding the same way became corpulent, and his throat almost closed; whom Mr. Martin advised to eat salt with his meat, to exercise himself in the fields, and forbear eating fat fowl, and the pudden called Giben, (i. e. the fat of their fowls, with which they stuff the stomach or belly of the solan goose, in fashion of a pudding; this they put in the infusion of oat-meal, which they called brochan,) and bade him eat sorrel; who, when with difficulty he was persuaded to do it, in a few days, says he, his voice was much clearer, his appetite recovered, and in a fair way of recovery.

The case is now altered, as is seen in the letter above-mentioned, wherein is found, That the writer is affected and afflicted to see the poor people, in their extreme poverty, driven to eat unclean meats, which breeds an unclean disease, whereof, he says, he has seen more than twenty die.

They have no salt (as was hinted above) but what they pay twenty pence Scots for per peck; the same for a pound of coarse tobacco, and so proportionably for other things, which the Steward or baillie can best spare; and which he carries, or causes carry, there, to vend for his own interest: of which things, it may be easily guessed, the poor inhabitants can have but little: if withal it be considered, that they must give their goods for such things, at such rates as the baillie will take them: the which doubtless will make them dearer than the neat price, though exorbitant, and no other must bring any thing to vend there but the baillie, or by his orders or allowance.

The Laird of M'Leod, as Martin says, which is also true, lets this island fall to some Cadet of his name, whose fortune is low, to maintain his family; and he is called the Steward of it. He visits this isle once every year, to demand the rent; viz. down, wool, butter, cheese, cows, horses, sheep, fowls, oil, and barley. Here he stays most part of the summer; and he, with his retinue that come along with him, are a heavy burden upon the poor people, who are sometimes 50, sometimes 60 or a 100, sometimes fewer and sometimes more, they, as 'twere, forcing their maintenance from them above their ability, all the time of his and their abode in the place; he carrying off with him, almost, all they should live upon through the year, viz. butter, cheese, &c.

It might be thought by strangers, that such people might live well enough upon the product of the island the rest of the year, and doubtless so they would, were they allowed it. But he secures this

also, for they must produce of butter and cheese, at his return the ensuing year; and for this end he has a deputy always on the place, called the officer, and is one of the natives; he has free lands from the Steward, and is at present the richest man in the island, having about twenty cows, if not more, (the rest having only as is above narrated,) and 2 or 300 sheep. So that, by what is here hinted, these people must be thought to be in a very bad condition, as indeed they are.

The soil here is very grateful, if they can get a competency of dung to it, producing ordinarily 16, 18, or 20 fold sometimes; their grain is only bear and some oats; the barley the largest in the western isles; they have no plough but spades for labouring; their harrows are of wood, and their teeth in the front also, and all the rest supplied with tangles of sea ware, tied to the harrow by the small ends; the root hanging loose behind, scatter the clods broken by the wooden teeth; they are forced to use this for want of wood. The chief ingredient in their compost, (i. e. dung for their arable land,) is ashes of turf mixed with straw, mixing their urine therewith, as it comes from the fountain, that being most advantageous; which, by experience, they find to have much of the vegetable nitre. They sow very thick. They pluck their bear by the roots in handfuls, instead of shearing it with hooks. The corn produced by this their compost is perfectly free of any kind of weeds; it produces much sorrel, where the compost reaches.

They divide their lands each three years, as is said, and that for the benefit of the bad labourers:

who get from their neighbours fat well manured ground for this bad, and the other says he will make that bad land yield as well as the other, by dunging and delving it well.

Their arable land is very nicely parted into ten divisions, and these in subdivisions, each division distinguished by the name of some deceased man or woman who were natives of the place; there is one spot called MULTA TERRA, another MULTIS AGRIS.

They are very exact in their properties, and divide both the fishing as well as fowling rocks with as great niceness as they do their corn and grass; one will not allow his neighbour to sit and fish on his seat in the boat, for this being a part of his possession, he will take care that no encroachment be made upon the least part of it, and this with a particular regard to their successors, that they may lose no privilege depending upon any parcel of their farm. They have but one boat in the isle, and every man hath a share in it proportionably to the acres of ground for which they pay rent. They are stout rowers, and will tug at an oar for a long time, without any intermission but the bad traveller. They stick very close to their ancient laws and statutes; nor will they, by any means, consent to alter their first (though unreasonable) constitutions; an instance hereof is, they have unchangeably continued their first and ancient measures, as the Maile, Amir, and Cubit: The Maile contains ten pecks, the Amir two pecks; the Cubit, or in their language, Lave Keile, i. e. an hand of wood, is the distance from the elbow to the fingers end; this

they only use in measuring their boat: The Amir has been used one hundred years, whereby it has become considerably less; to compensate which loss the Steward, for his part, will have (from a pretended custom received someway) the measure of the corn to hold his hand at the Amir side, to hold some barley above the due measure; but the inhabitants will not allow of it, it being to them unreasonable also.

Another instance some years before Mr. Martin, so often mentioned above, is; the Steward then determined to exact a sheep from each family in the isle, the number amounted to twenty-seven; and for this he put them in mind of a late precedent, of their having given the like number to his predecessors. But they answered, that what they gave then was voluntary, and upon an extraordinary occasion, of his being wind-bound in the isle; and that this was not to be a custom afterwards. The which reasoning was very good, and one would think, that their kindness then deserved a more grateful requital. However the Steward sent his brother with a competent number of men, to take the sheep from them by force: But the natives arming themselves with their daggers and fishing rods, attacked the Steward's brother, gave him some blows on the head, and forced him to retire *re infesta;* they telling him, that they would pay no new taxes: and, by this stout resistance, they preserved their freedom from such imposition, at that time. But the Steward has got it fixed since, so as every family pays it; if he have twenty sheep, he takes one of every twenty from them.

But so great was their concern for this Amir above-mentioned, that they unanimously determined to send the officer as envoy (according to the ancient custom) to represent their case to M'Leod: This was the result of a general council, in which the master of every family has a vote, since every family pays this officer an Amir of barley per annum, to maintain his character.

If a man leave the door of his Cleit (i. e. Cote-house) half open, and a sheep of his neighbour's go in thereat, and die therein, the owner of the Cleit must make it good, in paying the sheep. If the door be quite open, and access be had out, as well as in, he is free; or, if he has witnesses that he closed the door, he is free, though several sheep died in his Cleit. If one have the door half-open, and cows go in thereat; if then one cow kill another, the owner of the living cow must make it good, and the dead cow is his own. If one cow cast another down a steep rock or brae, and so be killed; then they say, the half of the dead cow is blemished on the brae; for were she on a plain, she could fight for herself: Wherefore the living and dead cows are equally divided betwixt their owners. When they go to take sheep on the steep rocks, if any one of them fall down the rocks and are killed, or fall or run into the sea in chacing them, the pursuers must pay each his share, proportionable to his ability of the sheep so lost; So if one man engages to chace alone, he pays the whole loss, if two chace them, he that hath most sheep of them two repays the loss, if there be any: Sheep for sheep; and the other pays him the half in again, in barley.

They reckon the price of the sheep with the lamb two merks, at Beltan, twenty-pence, at Lambas without a lamb, sixteen-pence, at Hallowmas eighteen-pence: But it is frequently paid in barley, when there is five or six men about the loss, and the corn not scarce: if they want corn, they rather take barley. If one find a young lamb that has lost its dame, and another prove the lamb to be his, (the mother refusing it suck, by being away for some time) he that found it must make it good to the owner, if it die, or be lost. Wherefore one man will not suffer another to go through his sheep in the fields, till he and others that have sheep be present, especially in lambing-time: Or if any will go through his own or neighbour's sheep, and they but move, and happen to fall from the rocks, he must make all good; except witnesses be near to testify that none of them moved or fell till he was quite by them. If one leave his sheep well to-day, and any other pass through them after them that day, or the next, if thereafter he miss one or more of them, he must refound them, except he have witnesses to attest his being free of that deed, or give his oath of knowledge for that effect. So he that goes thus, without witnesses, is always censured. But there seldom falls out any strife among them (for they are generally very subject and submissive to their own laws) except in dividing the effects of the dead; and when any thing thus happens, it is left to the Baillie's decision according to their laws. And they are so strict in their credit, that the poor debtor will be obliged to give in payment what he

cannot spare, and will not be allowed to offer what is most common in traffick among them.

The officer, as such, is obliged to adjust the respective proportion of lands, grass, and rocks, and what else could be claimed by virtue of the last tack or lease, which is never longer than three years, condescended to by the Steward: Also, he is obliged always to dispute with the Steward for what is due to any of them, and never to give over until he has obtained his demand, or put him into such a passion, that he gives the officer, at least, three strokes on the head, with his cudgel; after which, he has done, having performed what is required by the ancient customs: But he is not dispensed with, if the strokes amount not to three; as the Steward and inhabitants both say, according to Mr. Martin.

He has some acres of land given him by the Steward for serving him and the inhabitants, and the bonnet worn by himself at his leaving the island; the Steward's wife leaves with the officer's the head-dress worn by herself, with a pound of indigo.

Their Meire, which imports an officer, was anciently chosen, or at least approved by the people, ere the Steward settled him in his office; but now the Stewards have the nomination of them absolutely: he is president over them in their debates, takes care that the lots be managed impartially, that none to whose share they may fall may have cause to repine, whether it be for the Steward's service, or the commonwealth's. The use of the lots, together with the crucifix, do mightily contribute to their peace and quiet, keeping every one within his proper bounds; and indeed it must be a very odd

case, that falls not within the compass of these two to determine. When any case can be decided by the lots, and is decidable only by the oath of the parties, then the crucifix must determine the matter; and if it should prove a case of the highest importance, any of them is at liberty to refer it to his neighbour's oath, without any suspicion of perjury, providing the ceremony of touching the crucifix with their right-hand be observed: And this is always publicly performed, as says Martin. But this superstitious custom, as well as others, is done away, since Mr. Buchan their Minister came among them.

If any man is guilty of beating his neighbour, he is liable to a fine, not exceeding the value of two shillings sterling, except there be blood drawn, and then it is four shillings and sixpence. But at the Steward's pleasure to exact them or not, for to him all the complaints are given in at his arrival, by the officer. But they agree harmoniously together generally, and seldom it is that strife and debates happen among them; which is to the praise of the great Creator's good providence, if their rudeness and ignorance be compared with the more intelligent world.

This their Officer, as a point of his honour, must be the first that lands in the lesser isles and rocks; which point of honour exposes him to frequent dangers: For, when they come near the landing rock, he catches the first opportunity of the calmest wave, and having a rope tied about his middle, with the other end fastened to the boat in case of danger, jumps out upon the rock: If he lands

safe, he fixes his feet in a secure place, and with his rope draws all the crew to him, except those whose turn it is, to look after the boat; but if in jumping he falls into the sea, as sometimes he does, then he is drawn in again by the rope, and the next, whose turn it is, must try his fortune; the former not being obliged to hazard himself again at this time.

Their boat is curiously divided into apartments proportionable to their lands and rocks: and this is distinguished to a hair's-breadth, that one cannot encroach upon another's privilege.

Their officer, in his embassy, once travelled as far as to land on the continent next to Skye, (and it was a long journey for a native of St. Kilda so to do, for scarce any other inhabitants ever have the opportunity of travelling so far,) where he observed many wonderful things in his way. But he and the islanders look on M'Leod's family to be equivalent to that of an Imperial Court, and the King to be only superior to him. It was impossible for him, or these with him, to describe the strange lowland dress his lady wore; they admired glass windows, and a looking-glass to them was a prodigy; they were amazed when they saw cloth-hangings upon a thick stone wall, and condemned it as a thing very vain and superfluous.

One of their number landing in the isle of Harries, enquired who was the proprietor of these lands? They told him it was M'Leod, which did not a little raise his opinion of him. This man afterwards when he was in the isle of Skye, and had travelled some miles there, one day standing upon

an eminence, and looking round about him, he fancied he saw a great part of the world, and then enquired to whom these lands did belong; one of the company told him, M'Leod was master of these lands also; the St. Kilda man, lifting up his eyes and hands to Heaven, cried out with admiration, O mighty prince, who art master of such vast territories! This he expressed so emphatically in the Irish language that it became a proverb afterwards, when one would express a greatness and plenitude of power. One of the things he and they with him wondered at most, was the growth of trees; they thought the beauty of leaves and branches admirable, and how they grow to such a height above plants was far above their conception. For there grow no trees, no not so much as a shrub, in St. Kilda.

One of their number having travelled in the Isle of Skye, to the south part of it, thought this a prodigious journey, and seeing in the opposite continent the shire of Inverness divided from Sky only by a narrow sea, enquired of the company, if that was the border of England.

One of the St. Kilda men, after he had taken a pretty large dose of aqua-vitæ, and was become very heavy with it, as he was falling into a sleep, and fancying it was to have been his last, expressed to his companions, the great satisfaction he had in meeting with such an easy passage out of this world: For, said he, it is attended with no kind of pain. In short, says Martin here, their opinion of foreign objects is as remote from the ordinary sentiments

of other mankind, as they are themselves from all foreign converse.

For divertisment, the inhabitants ride their horses at the anniversary Cavalcade of Michaelmas; this they never fail to observe. They begin at the shore, and ride as far as the houses; they use no saddles of any kind, nor bridle, but a rope of straw, which manages the horse's head; and when they have all taken the horses by turns, the show is over for that time. These superstitious days they observe very punctually, they being at certain set times, and they call them holy days; but can give no reason for this observation, other than practical antiquity; on which they will also be very jovial in singing, dancing, and feasting.

Their diversions are short clubs and balls of wood: the sand is a fair field for this sport and exercise; in which they take great pleasure, and are very nimble at it; they play for some eggs, fowls, hooks, or tobacco; and so eager are they for victory, that they strip themselves to their shirt to obtain it. They use swimming and diving, and are very expert in both.

The women have their assemblies in the middle of the village, where they discourse of their affairs; but in the mean time employing their distaff, and spinning in order to make their blankets; they sing and jest for diversion, and in their way understand poetry, and make rhymes in their language; both sexes having a genius herefore; and both are very courteous.

Both sexes have a great inclination to novelty, and perhaps any thing may be thought new with

them, that is but different from their way of managing land, cattle, fowls, &c. But above all, writing was to them most astonishing; they could not conceive how it was possible for any mortal to express the conceptions of the mind in such black characters upon white paper. After they would admirably argue upon the subject, and were told, that within the space of two years, or less, if they pleased, they might be taught to read and write; but they were not of the opinion that either of them could be obtained, at least by them, in an age (as Mr. Martin relates); though they do know the contrary hereof by experience now, blessed be God, as may be hinted at afterwards.

The way of celebrating and solemnizing their marriages was thus; viz. When the parties are agreed to match one with another, as man and wife, then the common officer that presides over them summons all the inhabitants of both sexes to a chapel near the town, called Christ's chapel, where being assembled, he, viz. the officer, or any other appointed to marry them, after they are caused to be presented to the marriage-stool, enquires publickly, if there be any impediment why these parties should not be joined in the bonds of of matrimony? And if there be no objection to the contrary, he then enquires of the parties, if they are resolved to live together in well and woe, &c. After their assent, he taking out his durk naked, and thereupon causing them to swear it, declares them married persons; and then desires them to ratify this their solemn promise in the presence of God and the people, in order to which the crucifix

is tendered to them, and both put their right-hands upon it as the ceremony by which they swear fidelity one to another during their life-time. In this manner, Mr. John Campbell, minister of Harries; to whom M'Leod the proprietor of the isle heartily recommended the care of the inhabitants of St. Kilda) married fifteen pair on the 17th of June, 1697, as Mr. Martin relates, who was there with Mr. Campbell, though both resided there but about twenty days. But this way of marrying is now quite abolished. Immediately after marriage, they take a country-dance, having a bag-pipe for their music, which pleases them exceedingly. The richer sort give their help at this time to the poorer, to enrich their stock, viz. by giving the married parties some of their cattle; others, seed to sow their land, &c. The men are generally scarcer than the women, which is mainly attributed to their climbing, whereby many of them are killed, by falling from the rocks, or drowned in the sea.

Also, their manner of burying their dead of old was thus, viz. When one dies, they give a cry through the whole island, that all the people at work, whether in field or mountain, may thereupon come home. And indeed they seem to have a great regard for the dead, they all abstaining from ordinary work till the corps is interred, which they keep out of the ground but for one day only. The time of the funerals, the gentlemen and commonality are entertained with a good deal of civility; these concerned with the corps giving them what the isle affords, and their circumstances can allow; and also, friendly compliments sent to the houses

of those that watch the corpse and make the grave. At interring the corpse they are so mindful of mortality, judgment, and a future life, that they all draw to a side, take off their bonnets, and the poor their caps made of cloath, and say prayers; therein humbly craving, that the Lord would prepare them for that state. The which may serve for a sharp reproof to (and, if not taken and duly improven, will be a witness against) many, who notwithstanding of their better education, and having by the gospel been taught better things, yet act far otherwise, and much more discommendably, at such occasions. They esteem the grave, where the corps of the dead is to be interred, so sacred a bed, that they set a person at each end of it, that no dog, cat, or other brute creature, approach to, nor cross over the same. After prayers, a snuff box or two goes round the best respected; and the poor gets only a ped-full or two in their palms, especially if in haste to be away.

The women also have a superstitious custom, when they meet with any cross providence, that they go ordinarily to the grave stone of their husband, or nearest relation, and there weep and howl. But now they, as also the men, are much reformed from this and their other foolish and mimical observation, since they have been blessed with a gospel minister of their own: Upon these occasions, he would go to them, and give them the substance of the 5th of the Romans, or what was found fittest for the purpose; so that now, seeing the madness of these their foolish ways, they have much abandoned them, and come to a better mind. The fore-

said says, He never saw them make a grave or bury their dead on the odd day of the year. Also, out of a groundless (though superstitious) fancy, that their children will live by baptizing them on Saturday, they did it all then; yet they see it has not the wished-for effect: which custom is now also done away. Also, lately, the minister having approached the grave nearer than his usual, he espied one of the tenants using some superstitious motions, which he took not heed to, until he took up a spade, and lifted as much earth out of the grave, as would fill a child's hand or fist, and did spit a little in the grave, and threw in the little quantity of earth he had on the spade into the grave; all which he did the second or third time. All the reason he had from him or others was, that they are obliged to do it for antiquity or custom's sake.

AS FOR THEIR RELIGION.

Mr. Martin says, they are Christians, in his book printed 1698, page 82, much of the primitive temper, neither inclined to Enthusiasm nor Popery; and they leave off working after twelve o'clock on Saturday, as being an ancient custom delivered down to them from their ancestors, and go no more to it till Monday morning. And page 83, he says, they believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and a state of future happiness and misery; and that all events whether good or bad, are determined by God; they use a set form of prayer at the hoisting of their sails: They lye down, rise, and begin their labours in the name of God. They have a notion that spirits are embodied; these

they fancy to be locally in rocks, hills, and wherever they list, in one instant, says Martin: but they are now better taught, and believe otherwise. And in his book printed 1703, page 287, says, they are of the reformed religion, but as for what kind of a reformed religion, and what kind of primitive Christian temper Mr. Martin means, the reader may judge, by the superstructure they raised upon this their belief in the Trinity of persons in the Godhead, and that as Mr. Martin relates it, both by the sequel, and in part, by what is already said above. Yet it may not be amiss, and perhaps not unacceptable to the reader, to show what way they were first christianized, according to the best account that can be had of it, which take as follows: viz.

"'Tis commonly reported by the natives, and others more concerned in this affair, that about the beginning of the last century or thereabouts, there happened to be one in St. Kilda, who went under the name of a popish priest; but was so ignorant, that he was not capable to teach them the repetition of the Lord's prayer, the creed, and ten commandments, aright; yet was this nominal priest it seems skilful enough to teach those poor ignorant people, who then might receive an impress, superstition and idolatry, by giving them beads, images, observing of superstitious days, erecting idolatrous monuments, &c. among them: with this teacher and religion they continued until the Irish rebellion, which broke out in the year 1641, where there was one Coll M'Donald, alias Ketoch, (for he lost his right hand in the then late wars, whose son

called Alaster M'Donald, was slain in the following Irish rebellion) a commander in chief of the Irish army, and was of the M'Donalds in Ireland, or of the family of Antrim, the M'Donalds' chief there; this Coll M'Donald alias Ketoch being defeat in battle, losing his right-hand, and his army, which he had raised for the Popish interest rooted, was forced, with a few to flee for his life; and getting his foot in a vessel comes to land in St. Kilda, whom when the inhabitants saw, they run away from him and his men, into a cave in some remote corner of the island, where they thought they might be most safe from him, whom they thought to be an enemy come to destroy them; but he sending some few of his men after them, told them of his friendly designs, and he himself advancing gradually, enforces what his men had said, by telling them he had no hostile design against them, and that though he had, he was not in condition to effect it, since he wanted the right hand (shewing them the stump;) so pulling out his mull, and giving them a snuff, with which, and some other significations of kindness, they came to be delivered of their former fears; so that he lived in safety and quietness with them for the space of three quarters of a year; This Coll M'Donald at length examining them of their religion and principles, found that the priest was very ignorant, and had not taught the people the Lord's prayer, decalogue, and creed aright; so rebuking the priest, he corrected this, by causing them repeat these aright: He likewise established them in their superstitious and idolatrous practices, being himself a bigotted papist.

The poor people, judging the priest to be in the wrong, and looking on him to be ignorant, resolved to depose him; for the doing whereof, they referred it to the sentiments of this Coll M'Donald, whether they should do it or not; but this Coll put them off such thoughts, by telling them, he never saw a priest deposed in his country for ignorance; with this and other such like reasonless reasons they were satisfied. And this was all the religion they had till the year 1697, when Mr. John Campbell minister of Harries and Mr. Martin came to them, who continued only about twenty days among them; which was hinted above; in which little time he did doubtless good among them; for he greatly disproved their superstitious and idolatrous kind of worship, and taught them otherwise, as his little time there would allow; also he threw down several of their statues and altars, (being no doubt assisted hereto by Mr. Martin, the Steward and his men) at the which they were highly offended, and did upbraid him therefore; and said to him that some sad judgment would befal him for his so doing, so wedded were they to these abominations. Whereby it may appear, that, though he got their material monuments of idolatry thrown down, yet the spiritual ones, which were erected in their hearts, were not touched, as their late minister, Mr. Alexander Buchan found at his first settling there among them; whereof the reader may hear afterward.

But, First, it may be shown the reader what account Mr. Martin gives of their reformation, and what it is he reckons the primitive christian but

rather antichristian temper to be: Which take as he relates it in his book, intitled, A late voyage to St. Kilda, printed London 1698, page 85.

"They observe, says he, the festivals of Christmas, Easter, Good-Friday, St. Columba's day, and that of All-saints; upon this they have an anniversary cavalcade. But this is a mistake; for their cavalcade is at Michaelmas. In his book entitled, A description of the Western Isles of Scotland, printed London 1703, page 287, says, They assemble in the churchyard on the Lord's day, and in the morning they say the Lord's prayer, creed, and commandments: They work at no employment till Monday, neither will they allow a stranger to work sooner. This is all the worship on, and observance of, the Lord's day they have, as Mr. Martin tells us.

As to their manner of baptizing (in his book printed 1698, and page 91,) he tells us, the parent calls in the officer, or any of his neighbours, to baptize his child, and another to be sponsor: He that performs the minister's part, being told what the child's name is to be, says, A. B. I baptize thee to your father and to your mother, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; then the sponsor takes the child in his arms, as doth his wife and Godmother; and ever after this there is a friendship between the parent and sponsor.

As to swearing he says thus, viz.

They swear decisive oaths by the crucifix, which exceeds not a foot in length, the body is completely done, distended, and having a crown on, all in a

crucified posture, and this puts an end to any controversy; for there is not an instance, or at least suspicion of perjury among them. The crucifix is of brass, it lies upon they altar, but they pay no religious worship to it; yet they have it in great reverence, says he. One of the inhabitants was so sincere, that (rather than forswear himself upon the crucifix) he confessed a capital crime *before* the minister and myself, says he. They never swear, no, not the common oaths that prevail in the world; when they refuse or deny to give what is asked of them, they do it with a strong asseveration, which they express emphatically enough in their language, to this purpose, You are no more to have it, than if God had forbid it; and thus they express the highest degree of passion. They do not so much as name the Devil once in their lifetime.

They have three chapels in this isle, each of them with one end towards the East, the other towards the West; the altar is always placed at the east end: The first of these is called Christ's chapel, the second St. Columba, the third St. Brinan; each of a quarter of a mile distant from another, and built all after one manner. Thus Mr. Martin tells us of their reformation, and primitive christian temper.

But, The reverend Mr. Alexander Buchan their late minister gives us to know, that he found them in as bad a case as Mr. Campbell, and as much addicted to superstition and idolatry, at his first coming among them; he having their idolatrous monuments to throw down, the razing whereof,

and the getting them brought to a better temper of mind, cost him no small pains and trouble; as might be particularly instanced, but hereby it might swell this book to a greater length than is designed. However, this his pains, by the blessing of God, and in mercy to them, has been seconded with some way answerable success: For of these people, who at his entering first among them, which was twenty-one years ago, finding himself then necessitate, as it were, to go to them by more than an ordinary call of providence, were in such circumstances, as to religion, as is above described, are in another case now to the better by far; for whereas none of them could either read or write, now many, even of the old, but generally all the young, can do both: whereof he has given a specimen of their proficiency herein, by bringing some of his pupils, the natives of the isle, alongst to Edinburgh with him, and did present them, and show their advancement in letters to these concerned, nineteen years ago: Also, as to the principles of religion, by the means of this worthy man's constant labours among them, they are now generally well seen and grounded in them; and which is most to be regarded and prized, their esteem of, and love to pure religion, since they knew any thing of it aright, is conspicuous and very great, especially since they had the preaching of the gospel among them, by this ambassador of Christ, who has been their minister about nineteen years, who went to them at first without any view of worldly gain or self-interest, he having the prospect of nothing less, as has been found since. But now

we think they may well be accounted reformed christians, in respect of what they ever were before; yea, and presbyterians too. The reverend Mr. Alexander Buchan, their late minister, has a long time ago got a presbyterial session erected there, having only of the natives with himself, for the members constituting the same: and has administrate the sacrament of the supper of our Lord among them, oftener than once. The inhabitants of this isle bore also such an affection to Mr. Buchan their spiritual father, that by no means would they allow of his leaving them; nay, nor of his going out of the isle for any time, however necessary and urgent the occasion otherwise might be. As it appeared lately, for one instance; when his necessity called him to come to Edinburgh, to see for the little moiety allowed him for his own and family's support (his bills not being answered.) But not to insist farther on this digression here, but to close all, by observing the affection the inhabitants had for him, which is such, that they could allow a separation from him at no rate; they knowing, that however poor they are in worldly things, yet they well know, he hath been the instrument mainly, if not only, of enriching them with the joyful tidings of Christ, the precious food of their souls; so that they are, by the free grace of God in Christ Jesus, become rich in faith: And if they should be deprived of him, know not what so faithful a minister of Christ, whose main work they know, ever since he came among them, has been to win them to Christ, and not theirs, would take pity upon and come, bringing the glad tidings of salvation along with him to

them; since many men would hardly go there once for all his stipend. And in this their love to, and regard for him, they are indeed at no loss, it being reciprocal; especially if it be considered, that he first had and extended respect to, and love for their souls, when they shewed ill will to him therefor) and for effectuating of this he forsook and left, not only his own native country, all friends and relations, but even as it were, all society with his fellow creatures, as well as renounced all worldly interest, wealth, and ease, that they might have an interest and find rest in the Lord Jesus Christ, being moved hereto by him: And his regard still to this their spiritual welfare, engaged him to continue with them, maugre all the difficulties, pressures, discouragements, inconveniencies, and wants he has meet with since he went among them; knowing, and with fatherly compassion considering, that his removing from them would be as the rending of their bowels, though there were no ground of fear of hazard, as to their spiritual condition.

Now, as was promised above, the reader may hear of an Impostor that was in this isle at Mr. Martin's visiting it, and he tells us of him in his relation of that isle as follows; viz. One of the inhabitants called Roderick, a fellow that could not read, obtruded a false religion upon the credulous people which he pretended to have received from John the Baptist. It is remarkable, that in his raphsodies which he called prayers, he had the word Eli, i. e. our preserver. There is a little hill, upon which he says John the Baptist delivered sermons and prayers to him; this he called John's

bush, and made the people believe it was so sacred, that if either cow or sheep did taste of its grass, they were to be killed immediately after, and the owners were to eat them, but never without the company of the Impostor; to whose wife and family also a great share was sent. He made them likewise believe, that each of them had a tutelar saint in heaven, to intercede for them, and that the anniversary of every one of those was to be necessarily observed, by having a splendid treat, at which the Impostor was always the principal person. He taught the women a devout hymn, which he said, he had from the Virgin Mary; he made them believe that it secured women from miscarriages that could repeat it by heart, and each of them paid the Impostor a sheep for it. He imposed upon them first, the Friday's fast, in the which no meat must be tasted, no, not so much as a snuff of tobacco which they love so dearly, till night: this bare fast, without any religious exercise attending it, was the badge of his followers. He also imposed several penances upon them, which they were obliged to observe; such as standing in cold water, without regard to the season, whether frost or otherwise, during his tyrannical pleasure. This diabolical severity was evidence enough, that he was sent by him, who is the father of lies, and was a murderer from the beginning. He commanded every family to slay a sheep upon the threshold of their doors at night, but not to touch it with a knife, but to cut off its neck with the crooked spade, with which they delve their corn land, whose edge is almost half an inch thick; and if

either young or old tasted a bit of it that night, the equivalent number of sheep were to be slain thus, the following day. He forbade the use of the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments. He would have them lay the faces of the dead to the south, and not to the east, as is usual; but they would not obey this his command. He persuaded the women, that if they in all things complied with his new revelation, they should undoubtedly be carried to heaven, and that in their journey thither, they were to pass through the firmament riding upon white horses. He taught them many other ridiculous things.

Mr. Martin says, that, upon examination, some of the women confessed to Mr. Campbell the minister and him, that the place and manner of teaching the women the hymn above mentioned, afforded to him a fair opportunity for debauching of the simple women.

This impostor continued for the space of several years, without controul, to delude these poor innocent well-meaning people, until at last his villainous design upon the women was found out: I mean, says he, that he intended to accomplish, under the mask of the devout hymn that he taught them, and was first discovered by the officer's wife, who by the impostor was first proselyted to his false doctrines, and after that he would have debauched her from her conjugal fidelity. This woman was so heroically virtuous, as to communicate his lewd design to her husband, who ordered the matter so, as to be in another room hard by at the same time he supposed Roderick would be coming; there he

stays until the letcher began to caress his wife, and then he thought himself obliged seasonably to appear for her rescue, and boldly reproved the impostor for his wicked practices, which were so widely contrary to his profession, and that upon the whole it appeared he had no true mission.

The impostor was very much surprised at this unexpected and fatal disappointment, which put him into an extreme disorder; insomuch that he asked the officer's pardon, acknowledging his crime, and promising never to attempt the like again. The officer continued to upbraid him telling him in his face, that he was set on by the Devil; that innocence and chastity were always the effects of true religion, and that the contrary practices were countenanced by false prophets; and that now they needed no other proof of his being a notorious deceiver.

One of the inhabitants called Muldonich, alias Lewis, cousin german to the impostor, had a ewe which brought forth three lambs at once, they were seen to feed upon the bush pretended to be sacred; but Lewis would not comply with the order for killing the sheep, and had the boldness to aver, that it was an unreasonable piece of worship, to destroy so many cattle, and deprive the owners of their use; adding withal, that he never heard any such thing practised in any of the western isles upon a religious account. The impostor insisted upon the heavenly command, which was to be observed by all his followers, adding the dreadful threatenings against such as proved disobedient thereto; but Lewis would by no means

be prevailed upon, chusing rather to be excluded from the pretended worship, than to kill his sheep.

The simple people looked for no less than a speedy judgment to befall this recusant; but when nothing ensued upon his disobedience, all of them began to have a less veneration for the impostor than before; nay, some said privately, that they might as well have ventured to run the same risk with Lewis, for the preservation of their cattle.

Upon Messrs. Campbell and Martin their arrival at St. Kilda, Roderick made a public recantation of his imposture; and being then by them brought to the isle of Harries, and afterwards to the isle of Sky, he has made public confession in several churches of his converse with the Devil, and not John the Baptist as he pretended, and seems to be very penitent. He is now, saith Mr. Martin, in Sky isle, from whence he is never to return to his native country. His neighbours are heartily glad to be rid of such a villain, and are now happily delivered from the errors he imposed upon them.

The following paragraphs being omitted at their proper places, are here insert to fill up a blank.

About thirty-two or thirty-three years since, there was a cock-boat came from a ship to St. Kilda for water, being favoured by a perfect calm. The men discerned an infinite number of eggs upon the rocks, which charmed them to venture near the place, and at last collected a competent number of them; one of the seamen was so careful, as to put them into his wide canvass breeches, which he put

off him for this purpose. Some of the inhabitants of St. Kilda happened to be in the isle that day; a parcel of them were spectators of this diversion, and were offended at it, being done without their consent; therefore they devised an expedient, which at once robbed the seamen of their breeches and eggs; and it was thus, they found a few loose stones in the superficies of the rock, some of which they let fall perpendicularly above the seamen, the terror of which obliged them quickly to remove, abandoning both breeches and eggs for their safety; and those tarpawlin breeches were no small ornament there, where all wore girded plaids at that time.

In the month of July, a considerable quantity of mackrel run themselves ashore, but always with a spring tide. The Amphibia seen here, are the ottars and seals; these latter the inhabitants reckon very good meat. There is never a bee, more than a tree or shrub, seen here at any time. The inhabitants of St. Kilda are reputed very cunning, and there is scarce any circumveening them in traffick and bartering: The voice of one is the voice of all the rest, their common interest uniting them firmly together.

They marry very young, the women at about thirteen or fourteen years of age; and are nice in examining the degrees of consanguinity, before they marry. They give suck to their children two years. They live but about sixty years. They are not infested with the several diseases, which are so predominant in other parts of the world; as they are not practitioners of their vices. The distemper

that most prevails here, is a spotted fever, and that too confined to one tribe, to whom this disease is, as it were, become hereditary; others are liable to fluxes, fevers, stitches, the spleen; for all which they have but very few remedies. To get away their stitches they commonly lie upon a warm hearth, with the side affected downwards. This they look upon to be almost infallible for dispelling the humour, or wind, that torments them.

In the face of the rock south from the town, is the famous stone, known by the name of the Mistress Stone; it resembles a door exactly, and is in the very front of this rock, which is twenty or thirty fathom perpendicular in height, the figure of it being discernible about the distance of a mile: Upon the lintle of this door, every bachelor-wooer is, by an ancient custom, obliged in honour to give a specimen of his affection for the love of his mistress; and it is thus: He is to stand on his left-foot, having the one half of it over the rock, and then he brings his right-foot forward putting its heel to the utmost point of the toe of his left-foot, which is half over the rock already, and then in this posture bowing himself, he puts both his fists further out to the toe of the right-foot: Then, after he has performed this, he has acquired no small reputation, being always after it accounted worthy of the finest mistress in the world: They firmly believe that this atchievement is always attended with the desired success; though none other, except themselves, possibly, would look on or believe such a project fit for any other purpose, than to rob them both of their mistress and life at once.

There are round St. Kilda isle four arches or vaults, through which the sea passes, as doth the day-light from either side, which is visible to any though at any good distance; some of them representing a large gate: Two of these look to the south, and two north-west; that on the point of the west bay is six fathoms high above water, four in breadth, fifty paces in length, the top two fathoms thick, and very strong, the cattle feeding upon it.

There are several veins of different stone to be seen in the rocks of the south-east bay: Upon the north side of this rock, is one, as it were cut out by nature, resembling a terras walk. The crystal grows under the rock, at the landing place; this rock must be pierced a foot or two deep, before the crystal can be had from the bed of sand where it lies; the water at the bottom is of a black colour; the largest piece is not above four inches long, and about two in diameter, each piece six angular.

Upon the west-side of this isle there is a valley, with a declension towards the sea, having a rivulet running through the middle of it, on each side of which is an ascent of half a mile; all which piece of ground is called by the inhabitants, the Female Warrior's Glen. This Amazon, or warlike woman, is famous in their traditions: Her house or dairy of stone is yet extant; some of the inhabitants dwell in it all summer, though it be some hundred years old; the whole built of stone, without any wood, lime, earth, or mortar, to cement it, and is built in form of a circle, pyramid-wise towards the top, having a vent in it, the fire being always in the centre of the floor; the stones are long and

thin, which supplies the defect of wood. The body of this house contains not above nine persons sitting: There are three beds or low vaults that go off the side of the wall, a pillar betwixt each bed, which contains five men a piece: At the entry to one of these low vaults is a stone standing upon one end fixed; upon this, they say she ordinarily laid her helmet. There are two stones upon the other side, upon which it is said she laid her sword: She is said to have been much addicted to hunting, and that in her time all the void space betwixt this isle and that of Harries, was one continued track of dry-land; but sunk by, or washed away with the sea since. There was some years ago a pair of large deers-horns found in the top of Oterveaul hill, almost a foot under ground, and there was also a wooden dish full of deer's greese found in the same hill under ground. It is also said of this warrior, that she let loose her grey hounds after the deer in St. Kilda, making their course towards the opposite isle.

If the reader be curious to hear more of this remote isle, its inhabitants and commodities, he may consult the above cited Mr. Martin's book thereanent.

FINIS.

R. Chapman, Printer, Trongate, Glasgow.

# SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

# HISTORY

OF THE

# *Feuds and Conflicts*

AMONG

# THE CLANS.

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*Extracted from a MS. written about* 1656.

# SUPPLEMENT

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# Feuds and Conflicts

AMONG

# THE CLANS.

*The MS. from which the following Extracts are taken, belongs to Mr. James Duncan, Bookseller in Glasgow.*

## *The Batell of Arbroth.*

THE conflict at Arbroth, fought be the Lyndsayes and Ogilvyes, in the year 1445, (or 1446 according to——) was occasioned thus. The maister of Crawford's eldest son was bailzie off Arbroth, quherof he haid now acquired the possession, which government Sir Alexander Ogilvy of Inverquharity (tutor to Jon Lord Ogilvy of Airly) did clam, as justly appertayning to his nephue and puple aforsaid, whose rights he would mantayn, being assisted be the churchmen of that Abbay: but the Mr. of Crawford (set on therto be the Earle of Douglas) being unwilling to lose his possession, conveens a numbre of his freinds, and possessed himself with the Abbay of Arbroth, therby to doe with the strong hand, which he could not doe by law. At

this very tym, Alexander Earl of Huntly being then returned from court, towards the north, and lying the night preceiding in Sir Alex. Ogilvy's house, of Inverquharity, joined himself with the Ogilvyes, and took ther pairt. Sir Alex. Ogilvye understanding what the Mr. of Crawfurd had done, he together with the Earle of Huntly doe invad the Abbay of Arbroth, which tumult being reported to the Earle of Crawford, then lying at Dundy, he maks speid to Arbroth to assist his sone; and having arryved ther, he fynds both the parties even ready to fight, so going forward between both the hoasts (as wishing to mak up the mater,) he was slayne, which so enraged the Mr. of Crawford and the Lindsayes, that they presently joynd battell and invaded ther enemies, with great slaughter on aither syd. Sir Alex. Ogilvy was taken and caryed to Finnewin, quher he dyed shortly therafter of his wounds receaved in this batell: the Earle of Huntly retired into the north, having losed Jon Forbes of Pitsligo, with some others in that conflict.

*Troubles betwixt Sutherland and Catynes*, 1587–90.

(The following is considerably fuller, and contains some particulars not in the account printed of the Feuds of the Clans.)

* * * * *(beginning wanting)* * * * * * * * not believe thes certan intelligences, nor leave his own house that night, untill the Earle of Catynes cam with his army, and invaded him in the town of Marle under silence of the night, having environed the house with his wholl army ranged in order round about: G. Gordon keept the house a long tyme with great resistance, and as they were

eagerly persewing the house quherin he was, he killed a gentleman called Jon Sutherland, a speciall comander in the Earle of Cathnes' army, and on of the principall contryvers of the said George his death. In end, G. Gordon with great valor issued furth out of the house, and escaping throw the thick press of his enemies, he thurst himself into the river of Helmsdaill, which was hard by, quher he was shot and slayne with arrowes, as he was sweeming in the water: this happened in the month of Feb. 1587. The next morning tymly, the E. of Cathnes returned hom to his own countrey. Patrick Gordon, after the slaughter of his bruther George, was detained prisoner be the E. of Cathnes, but he escaped from him shortly therafter, and retourned into Sutherland.

The E. of Sutherland took the slaughter of G. Gordon in evil part, altho he was offended at him for his barrons lyffe.

The nixt month after the slaughter of G. Gordon, the Earles of Sutherland and Cathnes assembled ther wholl forces. The E. of Cathnes cam to Helmsdaill, accompanyed with all his countrymen, Macky, and Strathnaver men, together with Jon Mr. of Orkney, (therafter Lord Kinclevin,) brother to Patrick E. of Orknay, and som of his countrymen, that were come thither to assist the E. of Cathnes; which the E. of Sutherland understanding, he went thither to meet them, and was accompanyed with his own countreymen, Makintosche, Rorie M'Kenzie of Redcastle, Hector Monro of Contulich, and Niell Hutcheonson, with the men of Assynt. The river of Helmsdaill keept the

armyes from rancuntering, yet they skirmish dayly, and divers wer hurt on aither syd, with gunnes and arrowes which wer shott from the banck of the water. The Sutherland archers so galled the Cathnes army, that they forced them to remove ther campe from the river syd, quher they did ly, and to encampe among the rocks above the village of Helmsdaill.

Mackintosche crossed the river at Marle, wher M'Ky lay with his countrymen, and haid conference with him; he did endeavour with all his might to perswad M'Ky to leave the Earle of Cathnes, and to com unto his superior the E. of Sutherland; he declared unto M'Ky (out of the love and amity which haid been formerly betwixt ther two families) how dangerous it was for him to fight and bear armes against his superior, and therfor he desyred him to look unto himself; yet all this could not at that tym perswad or induce M'Ky to leave the Earle of Cathnes.

In this mean tym, som weel affected freinds on aither syd, haid takin paynes, and dealt to and fro betwixt the two Earles; at last, by ther mediatione and travell, the nynt day of Merch, 1587, ther was a truce concludit for a certain space, and M'Ky was left and exeemed out of the truce, otherwayes the Earle of Sutherland would by no means condescend to any assurance, becaus M'Ky was his vassal, with quhom he would have no truce if he did not absolutly submit himself to his mercy, which M'Ky refused to doe, and so departed hom unto his own countrey, greaved in his heart that the Earle of Cathnes (with quhom he endangered his

estat) should have setled with the Earle of Sutherland without him.

The two Earles dissolved ther companyes and reteired themselfs: heirupon the Earle of Sutherland took occasion to deall with the Earle of Cathnes for suppressing of M'Ky; a tryst is appoynted betwixt them at Elgin, to that effect, quher having met, the year 1588, they determined baith to invad Macky, and all parties wer sworne to keep this resolution secret, which the E. of Cathnes nevertheless observed only so long as he laiked opportunity to reveel the sam, for presently he advertised M'Ky of all, who being weel acquented with the Earle of Cathnes, his inclination would not trust him, but considering with himself how he was beset on all hands, his lyfe and ruine sought, and the small assurance which was to be haid in the Earle of Cathnes' frendshipe, he wysly reconceiled and submitted himself to his superior the E. of Sutherland, by the advyse of the Laird of M'Intosche and the Laird of Fowles; and in the month of November, 1588, the E. of Sutherland and M'Ky having met at Elgin, mad a perfyt and finall reconciliatione.

At this tym the truce betwixt the Earles of Sutherland and Cathnes did expyre, quherupon the Earle of Sutherland sent message to the Earle of Cathnes seiking redress for the slaughter of G. Gordon, and that som of the principall authors of that fact might be punished; this the Earle of Cathnes does refuse, quherupon the Earle of Sutherland sent 200 men unto Cathnes, in the month of Feb. 1588, under the conduct of Jon

Gordon of Golspytour (yrafter of Enbo), and Jon Gordon of Gillicallumkeld, (baith brethren,) who wer sent to spy and remark the countenance of the enemy, before that the E. of Sutherland himself would sturr or enter into the county of Cathnes. Thes two brethren with ther company taking the opportunity, they invaded the parishes of Dunbaith and Latheron, spoyling and wasting all before them; they killed Jon Jamessone a principall gentleman of Cathnes, with some others, and brought hom a great prey of cattle, which at ther retourne into Sutherland wes divydit amongst ther own company. This was called Creagh Lairn.

No sooner wer they returned, but the E. of Sutherland being accompanyed with Macintoshe, M'Ky, the Laird of Fowles, the Laird of Assynt, and Gillicallum Laird of Rasay, passed with all his forces into the country of Cathnes be virtue of a commission which he had obtayned at court, by the means of Chancellor Maitland, against the Earle of Cathnes for killing of G. Gordon.

The E. of Sutherland never stayed his course untill he com to Girnigo, (now called Castle Sinclair,) quher he encamped, and stayed twelve dayes about that strong fort. The inhabitants of Cathnes fled, straggling and wandring in the wilderness, upon the fame of this approaching hoast. The E. of Sutherland persewed his enemys without resistance, even to Dunsby, who wandring in dissaray, hid themselfs in a fearfull and confused tumult amongst the rockie mountains: divers of the Cathnes men wer then killed, and a great prey of cattell and guids was takin away, the lyk quherof was not seen.

in thes countrys for many yeirs; all which spoyll was divyded amongst the army, according to the ruls and customs then used in such caises. Thus doe we alwayes [see] the poor and common sort of people to suffer for great mens folies.

Every race, clan, trybe, and family within Catteynes, did offer to send pledges to the E. of Sutherland for keeping of the peace in all tyme coming; and did stryve among themselfs who should be first reconciled to him. This happened in Feb. 1588, and was called La ne creigh-morr, that is, the tym of the great slaughter and spoyll.

They burnt and wasted the towne of Week, but they saved the church, quher the last Earle of Cathnes his heart was found in a case of lead, the ashes of which heart was thrown with the wind by Johne M'Gillicallum, Rasay.

At this tym, did Hutcheon M'Ky first try and show himself in the E. of Sutherlands service, quherin he was very forward, sparing nether fyre nor sword against the inhabitants of Catteynes: in end, the E. of Cattynes deyred a parlie and conference, which the E. of Sutherland granted, considering that the E. of Catteynes haid strongly fortyfied himself within the castle of Girnigo, and haid prepaired all things fitt for a long seidge; and so som freinds mett on aither syd, betwixt Week and Girnigo, by whose travell and mediatione the E. of Sutherland refrayned his army from doing any furder hurt: all controversies and debaits betwixt the two Earles were referred to the decision and arbitriment of freinds. The E. of Huntly was choysen oversman and umpire be baith ther con-

sents, and a truce was taken up betwixt the parties untill the freinds should meitt. Thus the Earle of Sutherland having wrought his will against the slayers of G. Gordone, and being satisfyed with the harme and spoyle was then alreaddy done in the countrey, he returned himself with his army into Sutherland, having lost in that journey but on man, who was slayne in the water of Wick, straggling behind the army.

### *The dissention betweene the Laird of Luss, and the Clan-Grigor.*

IN Lent, the yeir 1602, ther fell out a dissention betwixt the Laird of Luss cheife of the Collquhunes, and Alex. M'Gregor (cheife of the Clangregor). Ther haid been formerly som rancour amongst them for divers hership and wrongs don on aither syd, first be the Laird of Luss his freinds against som of the Clangregor, and then by Jon M'Gregor, brother to the said Alex. Laird of M'Gregor, against the Laird of Luss his dependers and tennents. At this tym Alex. M'Gregor, accompanyed with 200 men of his kin and friends, cam from the Ronnoch with a resolution to tak away this dissentione be the mediatione of freinds: in the mean tym, the Laird of Luss doeth conveen all his dependers and freinds, with the Buchannans and others, to the number of 300 horsmen, and 500 foot, intending that if the issue of the meiting did not answer his expectation, he might inclose the enemy within his countrey, and so overthrow them. But the Clan-gregor being upon their guard, it happened otherwayes, for presently after that the meite-

ing dissolved, the Laird of Lus thinking to tak his enemyes at unawares, he persewed them hott and eagerly at Glen-Fruyn. Makgregor haid his company placed in two ranks, the most part wer led be himself, and the rest wer committed to the charge of his brother, who drew a compass about, and folowed the Laird of Lus' company quhen they least expected. The combat was fought with great courage, and the Clan-gregor prevailed, killed divers gentlemen and som burgess of the town of Dumbarton, with two hundred uthers, and took divers prisoners. Of the Clan-gregor (which is most wounder) two only were slayn, Jon M'Grigor the brother of Alex., and ane other, but divers of them wer [wounded.] *(The rest wanting.)*

## *Troubles in the Lewes.*

(This account is considerably fuller than the one printed in the Feuds of the Clans.)

IN the year 1610, the most considerable accidents relating to the troubles of the Lewes and conquessing therof be the Clankenzie, fell out, quhilk was occasioned as after follows, viz.

Rorie M'Leod of the Lewis marryed Barbara Stewart, doughter to the Lord Meffen, by quhom he haid Torquil Yrc, a fyne and valiant gentleman.

After the death of Barbara Stewart, Rorie M'Leod maryed M'Kenzie's doughter, by quhom he haid Torquill Connildach of the Cogach. Then Rorie M'Leod having repudiat M'Kenzie's doughter for her adulterie with the Briew of the Lewes, he maryed M'Lean's doughter, by quhom he had Torquill-dow M'Leod, and Tormat M'Leod: be-

aids thes, Rorie M'Leod begot divers bastards, Tormot-Ougach, Murdo, Niell, Donald, and Rorie-Oig.

The Briew is a kynd of Judge among the ylanders, who hath ane absolute judicatory, unto whose authority and censure they willingly submit themselfs, and never doe appeall from his sentence quhen he determineth any debaitable question in controversie betwixt pairty and pairtie.

Torquill-Yrc sailing from the Lewes towards Troternes in the Sky, with 200 men, perished with all his company by ane extraordinarie great storme and tempest.

Then Torquill of the Coigach (or Torquill Connildach) coming to perfyt age, maryed Glengarie's sister, by quhom he haid Jon, Niell, and divers doughters.

This Torquill Connildach was never acknowledged by Rorie M'Leod as his lawfull son, (being indeed the Briew's sone,) which moved Torquill Connildach to tak armes against his reputed father, Rorie M'Leod, being assisted by his baise brethren Tormot-Ougach and Murdo. So they invaded ther father Rorie M'Leod, took him and detained him 4 yeirs in captivity; in end, he was releised upon promise that he sould from thence furth acknowledge Torquill Connildach as his lawful sone. Then was Tormot-Ougach slayne by his brother Donald, quherupon Torquill Connildach being assisted by his brother Murdo, took Donald and caryed him prisoner to Coigach, from whence he escaped and com againe into the Lewes to his father Rorie M'Leod, who then againe was offended with Tor-

quill Connildach for taking his brother Donald, and presently agayne he caused his son Donald apprehend Murdo, quhom he delyvered to thair father Rorie M'Leod, who imprisoned his son Murdo in Stornnay, which moved Torquill Conn. to com thither and invad that Fort: after a short seidge he took it, relieved his brother Murdo, apprehended againe the father Rorie M'Leod, killed a numbre of his men, and conveyed away all the evidents, wryts, charters and old infeftments of the Lewes, which he gave in custody to M'Kenzie. Then did Torq. Conn. send for his son John M'Leod (who was then bred in the Earle of Huntley's company), and left him ther in the Castle of Stornua to keepe the fort, together with his grandfather Rory M'Leod as prisoner.

John M'Leod being in possession of the Lewes, and acknowledged as superior and master therof, he went about to banish his uncles Rorie-Oig and Donald out of the yland, which moved Rorie Oig to invaid his nepbew Jon M'Leod at Stornowa, quher Jon was slayne, and old Rorie released.

Thus was old Rorie M'Leod now agayne commander of that yland, quhilk he did possess during the rest of his troublesome dayes.

Then was Donald apprehendit and execut at Dingwell by his brother Torquill Connildach, who was assisted and advysed therto be the Clan-kenzie.

After the death of Rorie M'Leod, his son Torquill-dow cuming to perfyt age, martyed Sir Rorie M'Leod of the Herries his sister, and possessed the Lewes; he excluded his brother Torq. Conn. as a bastard, but the Clan-kenzie assisted Tor. Con.

with all their forces. Torq. Dow in this mean tyme apprehended his brother Rorie Oig upon som privat displeasur, and sent him to M'Lean, ther to be detayned in captivity; from whence escaping naked, he perished by snow and stormy weather, leaving behind him three sones, Malcolme, who com out of Spayn into England with Sir James M'Donald, William, and Rorie.

Then did the Clan-kenzie plot and devyse amongst themselfs how they might purchass and conquess the Lewes, taking the opportunity of ther dysentiones among the race of Shiel Torquill, together with the simplicity of Torq. Conn. quhom they did assist, and who now haid nó sones, Jon his eldest sone being slayne at Stornoway (as hes been already showen), and his second son Neill being dead of a burning fever, in Coigach. Moreover, Torq. Conn. his eldest doughter was maryed to Rorie Makkenzie, (the Lord of Kintails brother,) which did much advance ther enterpryse; so under pretence of assisting Torq. Conn. who was descended of ther house, they destroyed the family of M'Leod of the Lewes, together with his tribe (the Shiel Torquill); by the ruines of which family and of som other neighbouring clans, the Clan-kenzie hes mad themselfs powerfull, and ar becom in end masters and possessors of that yland and other places.

First then, they set down a course for the slaughter of Torq. dow, of quhom they stood in doubt and fear, for so long as he was alyve they wer out of all hope to effectuat ther interpryse. Thus then they bring him quickly to his end.

Kenneth M'Kenzie of Kintail, (afterwards Lord of Kintail,) Torq. Conn., Murdo M'Leod baise brother of Torq. Conn., and the Briewe of the Lewes, (the son of that Briewe who was said to be the father of Torq. Con.,) haid a secret meiting together, to consult of ther affaires; the Lord Kintail his proposition was, that to advance Torq. Conn. to the possession of the Lewes, it was requisit that his brother Torq. dow should be maid out of the way, which motion was presently embraced by the rest, but ther laiked on to execut the enterpryce. In end, the Briew was perswaded and moved by the earnest entreaty of the other three (upon promise of great reward) to undertak the mater, and so they pairted assunder at that tym. Then the Briew being accompanyed with the most pairt of his trybe (the Clan-vik-gille-voirr), went in his gallay towards the yle of Ronay, and by the way he took a Dutch ship, which (being pairtly fraughted with wyn) he brought by force along with him into the Lewes, (quher his master Torquill-dow was for the tym,) quhom he invited to a banquet in the ship. Torquill condescended, suspecting no treason, and went thither accompanyed only with 7 gentlemen; so being sett down in the shippe expecting som wyne, instead therof they bring them cordes. Thus they wer all apprehended by the Briew and his kin, who caryed them away to the Lord of Kintaill his bounds, and being advertised of ther mynd, they beheaded Torq. dow with his company, in the month of July, 1597. At the very instant of ther execution, ther was ane earthquack, which much astonished the malefactors, (though naturally har-

deued with cruelty and mischiefe). Torquill-dow left three sones, Rorie, William, and Torquill. Thus was the first step mad easy for the Clan-kenzie, who nevertheless hatsd the Briew and his tryb, so hatfull ar vyces even quhen they ar profitable.

The Briew and the Clan-vik-gille-vor, perceaving themselves justly deteasted of all men, began now (though too late) to repent this execrable fact, which they had comitted against ther master.

The Clan-kenzie at this tym haid gotten Tormat M'Leod, the brother of Torquill-dow, into ther hands, having takin him from the schools, and detained him in ther own custody.

After the death of Torquill-dow, the Briew and his trybe retourned into the Lewes, and strengthened themselfs in a fort within that yland, called Neise: but Niell M'Leod (the bastard brother of Torquill-dow) persewed them, killed divers of them, and constrained them to leave the strength of the Neise.

In this mean tym the Barrons and Gentlemen of Fyfe hearing thes troubles in the Lewes, wer intysed by the persuasion of som that haid been ther, and by the report of the fertility of the yland, to undertak a difficill and hard interpryse, and under pretence of civilizing the inhabitants of the yle, they goe about to plant a colony ther, and to dryve away the auncient inhabitants, quherby in the end divers of the undertakers lost ther own landes, and all of them wer forced at last to give over the bargain, and to forsak the Iland. First, the undertakers did purchass from the King a gift of the Lewes, in the year 1599, or therabouts, which then

was alledged to be at his Majestie's dispositione. Then the adventurers met together in Fyff, quher they assembled a company of souldiers and artificers of all sorts, with every thing which they thought requisite for a plantation: so transporting themselves into the Lewes, they begane apace to build and erect houses in a proper and convenient place fitt for the purpose: in end they made up a prettie town, quher they encamped. Neil M'Leod, and Murdo M'Leod, (now only left in that Iland, of all Rorie M'Leod's children,) withstood the undertakers; Murdo M'Leod invaded the Laird of Balcolmy, whom he apprehendit together with his ship, and killed all his men; so having detained him 6 months in captivity within the Lewes, he released him upon promise of a ransome, but Balcolmy dyed in his returne homward to Fyffe, after his releisment, quherby Murdo M'Leod was disappoynted of the ransome.

Now in this mean tym Niell M'Leod fell out with his brother Murdo. Niell was grieved at the heart to sie his brother Murdo M'Leod manteine the Briew or such of his kin as wer alyve, and haid been the chiefe instruments of ther brother Torq. Dow's slaughter. Heirupon Niell apprehended his brother Murdo, with divers of the Clan-vic-gille-vor, quhom he put to death, reserving only his brother alyve.

The adventurers understanding that Niell haid takin his brother Murdo, the sent him message, showing that if he would deliver his brother unto them, they would agrie with himself, give him a portione of the iland, and assist him to revenge the

slaughter of his brother Torq. dow: quherunto he harkened and delyvered his brother Murdo to the undertakers. Then went Niell M'Leod with them to Edinburgh, and haid his pardon from the King for all his by past offences.

Thus was the Lord of Kintaill almost in dispair to purchass or obtain the Lewes; he therfore tourneth now all his courses from invading the Shiel Torquill, intending with all his might to cross the undertakers. He setteth at liberty Tormot M'Leod, (the lawfull brother of Torquill-dow,) thinking that upon his coming intot he iland all the inhabitants would sturr in his favor, against the undertakers, which they did indeed: (for all thes Ilanders, and lykwayes the hylanders ar by nature most bent and prone to adventur themselfs, ther lyfs, and all they have, for ther Maisters and Lords, yea beyond all other people.)

In this mean tym Murdo M'Leod was execut at St. Andrews, who at his death revealed somthing of the Lord Kintaill's proceidings. Then the King was informed by the adventurers, that the Lord Kintaill was a crosser and hinderer of ther enterpryse, quherupon he was brought in question, and was committed to ward in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he escaped without his tryell, by the means and credit of the Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

Niell M'Leod returned into the Lewes with the undertakers; shortly therafter he fell at variance with them, for som injurie which Sir James Spense of Wormistown haid offered him, quherupon he left them and went about to invaid ther campe. They begin in lyk maner to lay a snair for him. The

Laird of Wormiston choysing a verie dark night, sent furth a company to apprehend Niell M'Leod, and Donald-dow M'Rorie, (a gentleman of the Iland, who assisted Neill against them): but Neill being upon his guard, and perceaving them coming, invaded them quhen they haid issued out of ther campe, and killed three scoir of ther men, chassing the rest until it was day light, that they wer rescued from the campe.

The Lord of Kintaill hearing this, thought it was fitt tym for him to sturr; being nothing astonished with his former check, he heasteneth to send Tormat M'Leod into the Lewes, (as he had before intended,) promising great assistance if he would invaid the undertakers.

At Tormat's arryvall in the yland, his brother Niell with all the inhabitants speidily assembled and cum unto him, as to ther Lord and Maister. Therupon Tormot being accompanyed by his brother Niell, invaded the campe of the adventurers, forced it, burnt the fort, killed the most part of ther men, took ther commanders, and released them after 8 months captivity, upon ther promise that they should nevir retourne agayne: together with a promise that they should obtayne a pardon from his Majestie, to Tormot and his followers, for all ther bygane offences.

Thus for a whyll Tormat M'Leod commanded that yland; during which tym John M'Couill-vic-Hutcheon (of the M'Leodes of Assint,) apprehended Torq. Conn. M'Leod, and caryed him along to Tormat M'Leod into the Lewes. Tormat then desyred his brother Torq. Con. to delyver to him

the wryts and infeftments of the Lewes, which he caryed away from thence, quhen he apprehended ther father Rorie M'Leod at Stornua. Torq. Con. answered that he haid given them to the Clan-kenzie in custody, and haid them not in his own power. So Tormat perceaving that the Clan-kenzie haid prevented him, and gottin all the wrytes into ther hands, he released his brother Torq. Con. and suffered him to depairt, which he did against the opinion of all his partakers and followers, who desyred to have haid Torq. Con. dispatched out of the way, becaus he haid been the fountaine of all ther miseries and troubles.

Now shall you sie the Briew of the Lewes justly punished, for killing and betraying his maister Torq. dow. Jon M'Couill vic-Hutchon, (befor mentioned,) accompanyed only with four others, com by chance into the house quher the Briew with 6 of his kindred wer lodged, in the the country of Assint; aither of them suspecting ane another, being of contrarie factiones, and being now in on rowme, they expected who should be the first invader. John persewed the Briew, and killed him with five of his men, without the loss of any of his own company; which surly was a hard mater to effectuat, being all upon ther guard; but God deprived the Briew and his company of courage and ability to resist. In revenge quherof, Gillicallum-mor M'Ean (cheiff of the Clan-vick-gillevor, after the death of the Briew,) did search for Johne M'Couill vic-Hutcheon to slay him; but Jon meiting by chance with this Gillecallum-mor, in the Cogach, he invadit him, killed the most

pairt of his men, and took Gillecallum-moir himself prisoner, and caryed him into the Lewes to Tormot M'Leod, quher he was beheaded. This John M'Couill vic Hutcheon dyed afterwards in Strathnaver, in the year 1620.

The undertakers did (contrarie to ther promise) returne agayne into the Lewes. They wer assisted by the forces of all the neighbouring countreyes, by vertue of the King's commaission directed against Tormot M'Leod and his trybe, the Shiel Torquill. How soon all the forces of the adjoining countreyes wer landed in the Iland, the undertakers sent message unto Tormot M'Leod, showing that if he would yeild unto them in the name and behalf of the King, they should transport him saifly to Londone quher his Majestie then was, and being arryved, they would not only obtaine his pardone, but also suffer him without let or stoppe, to deall by his freinds for his Majesties favor, and for som means quherby he might live: quherunto Tormot M'Leod condescendit, and would not adventur the hazard of his fortune, against so great forces as he perceaved readdy ther to assail him. This did Tormot M'Leod, against the opinion of his brother Niell M'Leod, who stood out and would not yeild. So the adventurers sent Tormot M'Leod to London, quher he caused his Majestie to be rightly informed of the caise, how the Lewes was his just inheritance, how his Majestie wes sinistrously informed by the undertakers, who haid abused his Majestie in making him beleive that the sam was at his dispositione, quherupon proceided much unnecessary trouble, and great blood shed, and ther-

for he humblie intreated his Majestie to doe him justice, and to restore him to his owne. The adventurers understanding that his Majestie began to harken to the complaint of Tormot M'Leod, they then used all ther credit at court to cross him: in end they prevailed so far (som of them being the King's domestick servants) that they procured him to be takin and sent hom prisoner to Scotland, quher he remained captive at Edinburgh untill the month of March, 1615, that the King gave him liberty to pass into Holland, to Maurice Prince of Orange, quher Tormot ended his dayes.

The adventurers having thus procured Tormot M'Leod to be imprisoned at Edinburgh, they setled themselfs agayne into the Lewes, quher they haid not stayed long quhen diverse of them begane to weary; many of them wer drawin back from the interpryce, som for laik of means wer not able, having spent ther estaits in this plantatione, som dyed, others haid greater occasiones and bussiness elsquher to abstract them, all of them began to declyne apace in ther riches and means, and so being continually vexed by Neill M'Leod, they forsook the Iland and retourned into Fyffe.

The Lord Kintail perceaving all things thus to fall out according to his mynde, he did now oppenly show himself in the matter; he past a gift of the Lewes to his own use, by the Lord Chancellor his means under his Majesties great seall, by vertue of the old right which Torq. Con. haid long agoe resigned into his favor. Som of the adventurers complained heirof to the King, who was highly displeased with the Lord of Kintaill, and

maid him resign his right againe into his Majesties hands, by means of the Lord Balmerinoch, then Secretary of Scotland, and President of the Session. Which right being now at his Majesties disposition, he gave the sam back agayne into thrie persones only, to witt, the Lord Balmerino, Sir George Hay Chancellor of Scotland, and Sir James Spense of Wormiston, who now having the right of the Iland setled in ther persones, they undertak the plantatione of the Lewes, quherupon Sir George Hay and Sir James Spense mad great preparation for the interpryse; and being assisted by the most pairt of the neighbouring countreyes, they invad the Lewes, not only to settle a colony ther, but also to search for Niell M'Leod, who now alone defended the countrey. The Lord Kintaill (yet hunting after the Lewes) did privatly and underhand assist Niell M'Leod, and sent his brother Rorie M'Kenzie oppenly with som men to aid the undertakers, by virtue of the King's commission; he promised great freindshipe to the undertakers, and sent unto them a supply of victualls in a shippe from Ros. In the mean tym he sendeth quietly to Niell M'Leod, desyring him to tak the shippe by the way, that the adventurers trusting to ther victualls, and being dissapoynted, might therby be constrained to abandone the yland; which fell out accordingly, for Sir George Hay and Sir James Spense fealing to apprehend Niell, and lacking victualls for ther army, they wearyed of the bargane and dismissed all the neighbouring forces. Sir G. Hay and Wormistoun returned into Fyfe, leaving som of ther men in the yland to keep the fort, untill they sould

send unto them a supplie of men and victualls; quherupon Niell M'Leod being assisted by his nephew Malcolme M'Leod, (the son of Rorie Oig,) and som others of the Lewes men, invaded the undertakers campe, brunt the fort, apprehended all ther men which they left behind them in the yland, and sent them hom saifly unto Fyfe, since which tym they never adventured againe into that Iland.

Then did Sir George Hay, Sir James Spense, and the Lord Balmerino begin to weary of the Lewes, and sold ther right and tytle therof to the Lord of Kintaill for a soume of money, quherby in end, after great trouble and much blood, he obtayned that Iland.

The Lord of Kintaill was exceeding glad that he haid now at last catched his long wished and expected prey, and herupon he went unto the Iland; presently after his landing ther, all the inhabitants yeilded unto him, except Niell M'Leod with som few others, who fatally favoring the declyning syd, still persisted, unfortunatly contrary unto all such as did aime to possess that yland, and as consequently now to the Lord Kintaill, to whom the rest of the inhabitants did yield the mor willingly becaus he was ther neir neighbour, and might still vex them with continuall incursiones if they did stand out against him, which the undertakers wer not able to doe.

Niell M'Leod was now forced to reteir unto ane rock within the sea, with his nephews Malcolme, William and Rorie, (the three sones of Rorie Oig,) Torquill Blair, his four sones, and 30 others.

This rock was called Berrissay, a fort invinci-

ble, unto the which Niell was accustomed som years befor, to send alwayes provision of victualls and uther things necessarie, that it might be a retreat unto him upon all occasions in time of his greatest necessities. Niell keept this Rock for the space of thrie years, during which tym the Lord Kintaill dyed in the year 1611. The nixt year following, which was the year 1612, Niell M'Leod went from Berrissay with his traine unto the Lewes, for to refress themselfs upon the land, quher the Clan-chenzie, accompanyed with som of the Inhabitants of the Iland, invadit them, but Niel escaped ther hands and returned with his company to the Rock of Berrissay. Then the Clanchenzie gather together the wyffs and cheildren of thos that wer in Berrissay, and such as by way of affinity or consanguinity within the yland did appertaine to Niell and his followers, and placed them all upon a Rock within the sea, quher they might be heard and seen from the Rock of Berrissay; they vowed and protested that they would suffer the sea to overwhelm them ther the nixt flood, if Niell did not presently surrender the fort; which pitiefull spectakll did so move Niell M'Leod and his company to compassion, that immediately they yeilded the rock, and left the Lewes, quherupon the women and cheldren wer rescuid and rendred. Then Niell M'Leod reteiring out of the Lewes went into the yle of Herries, quher he remayned a whyll in secret, and not being able to keep himself longer quiet in thes bounds, he rendred himself and his cheildrein to Sir Rorie M'Leod of the Herries, quhom he entreated to bring him to his Majestie

into England. Sir Rorie was charged under payne of treasone to delyver Niell M'Leod to the privie Counsell, who having obeyed the summonds, presented Niell with his eldest sone Donald to the Counsell at Edinburgh, quher Niell was execut in Apryll, 1613, and his sone Donald M'Niell was banished out of the Kingdom, who presently therafter went into England, and ther remayned three years with Sir Robert Gordon tutor of Sutherland, and from England went into Holland, quher he yet remaines.

During the tym that Niell M'Leod keeped the rock of Berrissay, ther arryved ane English pirrat in the Lewes, who haid a shippe furnished and fraughted with great wealth. This pirrat (called Peter Lowe) entered in freindship and familiarity with Niell, being both outlawes, so they thought by joyning together ther forces to be maisters of the Lewes by sea and by land, but after the pirrat haid stayed a whyll in the Iland, he with all his men wer takin prisoners by Torq. Blair's sones, and wer sent together with the shippe by Niell M'Leod to Edinburgh, unto the privy Counsell, thinking therby to get his own pardon and his brother Tormot M'Leod releised out of prisone, but nether of them did he obtaine, and all the Englishmen with her Captain wer hanged at Leith.

After the death of Niell M'Leod, Rorie M'Kenzie, tutor of Kintaill, executed Rorie and Wm., the two sones of Rorie-beg; whose third sone, Malcolme M'Leod, being prisoner with the tutor of Kintaill escaped, and did since that tym vex the Clan-chenzie with incursions, having associat him-

self to the Clan-donald, in Ila and Kintyre, during ther troubles against the Campbells, in the yeir 1615 and 1616. Therafter Malcolme M'Leod went to Flanders and Spayne, quher he remayned with Sir James M'Donald; but befor his going to Flanders, he mad a journey into the Lewes, in the yeir 1616, and ther killed two gentlemen of the Clan-chenzie.

Rorie M'Leod, the eldest son of Torq. dow, . . . . . the tutor of Kintaills custody; William M'Leod, the second son of Torquill, is at the University of Glasgow; Torquill M'Leod, the third sone of Torq. du, is with his uncle Sir Rorie M'Leod of the Herries, and is a youth of good expectatione.

The tutor of Kintaill did repent himself of his proceedings against the trybe of the Sheil Torquill; his aim was alwayes to have gottin the Lewes unto himself, fra his nephew the Lord of Kintaill, (therafter Earl of Seafort,) in exchange for the Coigich, and the rest of the lands that he purchassed in Ros and Murray; which exchange was refused by his nephew, who was readdy to fall by the ears with his uncle, when as he dyed in the yeir 1626.

Thus have I run over this lamentable historie and decay of M'Leod of the Lewes, together with his tribe the Shiell Torquill, which punishment was justly inflicted upon them for killing and destroying on another with intestin and civill warres.

# EXTRACTS.

(1093) * * * * Schaw M'Intoshe) a valiant man, having with a small pairtie from the Castle of Invernes assaulted Donald Bayne and his forces, was by them killed on the place, quherupon the rebells turned the more insolent and cruel against the countrey people, which occasioned the Kings coming in person against them, as aforsaid.

IN the year 1199, (or 1198 according to some,) King William mad ane expeditione to Cathnes against Harald Earle of Cathnes, who haid at that tym taken John Bishope of Cathnes, and for some cause haid pulled out both his tongue and his eyes.

The King in this expedition at severall onsets did cutt of the Earles followers: the Earle himself fled to the yles, but was therafter apprehended in Cathnes and sent to the King, who first caused cut away his tongue and privy members, and therafter committed him to the gallows. He also caused geld all his male children.

IN the year 1211, Malcolme Earle of Fyfe, with the Earle of Atholl and Thane of Buchan, was sent to Catynes with 6000 men against Gorrie M'William, a notable rebell; who being apprehended, was brought to the King half dead, for willfully he did abstaine from meat and drink, quherby to procure his own death.

IN the year 1222, King Alexander mad an expidition to Cathnes, against that countrey people, (because they had first wounded, and therafter brunt ther Bishoye, called Adam,) took the principall actors, caused hang 400 of them, and geld all ther male children.

IN the year 1237, on called Gillespick, a rebell, brunt Inverness, and was therafter himself and his two son skilled be the Earle of Buchan, (Justice generall of Scotland for the tym,) and ther heads sent to the King.

IN the year 1247, Schaw M'Intosche, the third of yat nam, and fourth of the surname of M'Intosche, conquessed the lands of mikle Geddes, and Rait. *(old manuscript.)*

In the year 1236, the fornamed Schaw conquessed the Landes of Rothemurchus, quhilk his posteritie (of the name of M'Intosche) enjoyed be the space of 244 yeirs yrafter. *(old manuscript.)*

IN the year 1271, Ferquhar M'Intosche of Rothiemurchus (quhom the people of Baddenoch haid chosen to be yr captane and leader at the batell of Larigs,) was killed in the north-west yles be a gentleman, quyll they wer playing at Tables.

IN the year 1370 was the feight at Invernahavan, betwixt Lauchlane moir M'Intosche, and Tarlach moir M'Gillony, quher at the first rancounter a brance of the Clanchattan (called Clanday) was almost totally cutt of, but at the nixt day the Clanchameron wer routed, and ther chieftan Tarloch moir with the most pairt of his followers killed.

IN the year 1467, a band of friendshipe and amity was maid betwixt William Lord Forbes, and Duncan Laird off M'Intoshe, which continowes unviolat betwixt ther families to this day.

(In the MS. the Conflict of Aldicharrishe is dated 2d July, 1487.)

*Torran Dow—continuation.*

JOHN M'Y impatient of this overthrow, sent his two nephewes Jon croy, and Donald, (the sons of Angus slayn at Morinsh in Ros,) acompanyd with a number of men, to spoyl and burn the toun of Petfure in Strath-fleet, which appertayned to Jon Murray of Aberscors, (who swelled with courage upon thes lait receaved victories against the Strathnaver men,) did persue the said Jon croy, and his

brother Donald, at Petfure, * * * * * * Jon croy Macky was killed, with * * * * * * * * his brother * * * * *.

IN the year 1531, and first of May, John Malcolmsone (alias M'Intoshe) was beheaded at the yle of Rothemurchus, for killing the Laird of M'Intosche.

In the said year the Clanchattan haryed the parish of Dyk.

IN the year 1544, and 25 July, the field of Kendlochlochy betwixt the Frazers and the Clanronald was fought, quher the Lord Lovat and his eldest son wer slayne.

IN the year 1550, and third day of August, William, Laird of M'Intosche, was murthered be the Earle of Huntly, that afterward was slayn in Corrichie feild.

IN the year 1570, the troubles betwixt the Monros and Clan-kenzie began thus: The heritable right of the Castle and Castlands of the Chanonrie of Ros, being given be Jon Lesly Bishope of Ros to the Laird of Bawlhyn, yet the Earle of Murray, Regent, gave the keeping of the Castle to Andro Monro of Miltoun, and promised to reward the Laird of Baquhyn therfor som other way; meantym the Re-

gent is killed, Bawhyn out of possesion, and Andro Monro dissapoynted of the heretable right of the Castle and Castlands. The Earles of Lennox and Mar during the Regency, keept Andro still in possession of the Castle, which the Clan-kenzie envying, they bought the right therof from Bawhyn, and therupon besedged the Castle of Chanonrie, which the Monros keept notwithstanding, for the space of 3 yeirs, with great trouble and slaughter on both syds, till be the mediatione of freinds the parties wer reconciled.

IN the said year 1570, Jon Mr. of Foulis did repudiat Margaret Gordon (sister to the Earle of Huntly), quhilk the Gordons took so highly, that furthwith both the families brack furth to be irreconcilable enemies on to ane (other), quherupon enshewed great troubles and slaughters amongst them.

IN the year 1581, began the troubles betwixt M'Kenzie and the Laird of Glengarrie.

In the said year 1581, and 5 of March, Rorie M'Kenzie, brother to the Laird of M'Kenzie, apprehendit the Laird of Glengarry.

In the year 1582, and 1 of Apryll, Glengarrie invadit the lands of Kincalldrum, and brunt and harryed the sam, having killed divers of the inhabitants.

IN the year 1597, Jon M'Gilliechallum of Rasay, was slayne be Alex. Bayne of Logy, (brother to Duncan Bayne of Rulloch,) at Logy-wriid. The Monros did assist the Baynes, and the Clánchenzie took part with M'Gillichallum. At this tym Jon M'Murthow in . . . , a gentleman of the Clanchenzie, and thrie others of that surname wer killed, and on the other syd, Jon Monro of Culcragie, his brother Hugh, and Jon Monro Robertson, all valiant gentlemen.

FINIS.

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